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FOCUS

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JCPS/Gallup Poll Reflects Changing Views on Political Issues

Unemployment, High Cost of Living, and Drug Abuse Are Top Three Issues for Blacks and Whites

Blacks' Democratic Party Identification Softens, and Approval Ratings Rise for President Reagan

Jesse Jackson Should Run Again in 1988, Black Majority Say

JCPS Political TrendLetter

Poll Has Mixed Message for Jesse Jackson; Non-Racial Election Strategies; "Across the Nation"

Perspective

Black Voters Have Mainstream Views, May Be Less Loyal to Democrats

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Black Voters Have Mainstream Views, May Be Less Loyal to Democrats

For those who fret that blacks dilute their political clout by voting overwhelmingly Democratic and monolithically pursuing policy issues that are not in sync with the mainstream, the Joint Center's latest national poll will bring welcome relief. As I suggested last month, blacks are less monolithic and more flexible than many suspect. Our 1986 poll substantiates this conclusion.

Although we might still be two separate societies in many respects, the survey indicates that black and white America are in agreement about the principal problems before the country—unemployment, the cost of living, crime, and drug abuse. They also come very close in their ranking of several other issues, like education and health care. I believe this is a significant development because it could help set the stage for new dimensions of cooperation in pursuing important national objectives.

An especially noteworthy issue area is civil rights. It is further down the list of priority issues for blacks than it was in 1984 and is perhaps lower than it has been at any time in the recent past. Indications are that blacks are opting for greater emphasis on basic social and economic issues. What is a major concern is that while civil rights ranks 6th on a list of 21 items for blacks, it is a shocking 19th for whites. One wonders whether the unrelenting attack on civil rights issues and leaders by the present administration might not be a major contributor to white attitudes on this issue.

A second noteworthy set of findings concerns partisanship trends. Here, there is both good news and bad news for the two parties. Democrats will be relieved to see that despite the talk of party realignment and the recent efforts of Republicans to recruit black support, blacks show no sign of switching parties. They remain overwhelmingly Democratic, with less than 7 percent considering themselves Republicans.

The bad news for Democrats and the good news for Republicans emerge when we look more closely at the party support data. Fewer blacks now regard themselves as strong Democrats than did so in 1984—a 6 percentage point drop (55 percent to 49 percent) in just two years. While blacks are still voting Democratic, this is the clearest evidence we have that the Democratic party might indeed be losing its grip on the core of its black support. Also noteworthy in this regard is the fact that younger blacks—those under 30—are much less loyal to the Democratic party than older age cohorts.

A third point worthy of attention focuses on the 1988 elections. The survey shows that Jesse Jackson is far and away the most widely known of the people being mentioned as potential candidates. Most of the potential contenders in both parties have a long way to go in establishing a presence with the electorate.

Finally, the survey suggests that blacks continue to close the gap in registration and turnout. Whites and blacks report almost identical levels of registration, and there is a very narrow gap between the races in intention to vote. Moreover, more blacks than whites report having paid attention to the 1986 mid-term elections.

All of these findings suggest the continuing movement of blacks into the mainstream of American politics, where their influence continues to grow.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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JCPS/Gallup Poll Reflects Changing Views On Political Issues

by Fredrick Harris and Linda Williams

On October 14, 1986, the Joint Center released the results of a national poll on the views of blacks and whites about several key political issues. (The box on this page describes the poll methodology and explains why this poll is more representative of black views than most other public opinion data on blacks.) The 1986 survey is the second in what will from now on be annual JCPS/Gallup surveys. The first such poll was conducted in July 1984. By comparing the findings of the 1984 and 1986 surveys, we can identify changes that have occurred in the political views of black Americans in the past two years.

The changes that we describe below are noteworthy on several counts. First, they affect each of the major subject categories in the surveys: most important issues, partisanship, presidential approval, and support for Jesse Jackson. Second, some changes are on questions that political analysts believe to be of special significance. For instance, the fact that fewer blacks than in 1984 identified themselves as "strong" Democrats suggests a softening of party identification; Republicans may view this as a "window of opportunity" through which to attract black voters. Equally noteworthy is the fact that "civil rights" is not among the top three issues for blacks in 1986, though it was ranked third in 1984. Third, there has been much speculation and public debate—but not much reliable data—on such questions as blacks' loyalty to the Democrats and the level of their support for President Reagan, among other important issues. Thus, the results we present in this article will, we hope, inform and stimulate those who are thinking about these critical issues.

Though the changes we have identified are significant, they should not be overstated. No sweeping changes have occurred. Americans of every race generally exhibit extremely stable and unvarying views for long periods of time. This is particularly true for party identification. For example, southern whites started leaving the Democratic party in 1948 when the party included its first civil rights plank, but it took more than 30 years for a plurality of southern whites to shift their allegiance to the Republican party. Similarly, few blacks—long-time adherents of the "party of Lincoln"—voted for Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932, despite having suffered miserably under Herbert Hoover's Republican administration. Though an overwhelming majority of blacks did vote for Roosevelt in 1936 (about 70 percent—at least doubling Roosevelt's 1932 share), it wasn't until 1964 that blacks fully embraced the Democrats. And even as late as 1972, 30 percent of black voters supported a Republican presidential candidate—Richard Nixon.

(Continued on next page)

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Joint Center for Political Studies/Gallup public opinion poll on black and white American attitudes toward a wide range of political, economic, and social issues was conducted by face-to-face interviews in the continental United States during the week of August 8, 1986. In all, 868 black persons and 916 whites persons, selected at random, were interviewed.

The survey included about seven times as many blacks as are usually interviewed in a national multiracial poll. Most blacks in the sample were interviewed by blacks. The poll is more reliable than most national polls, not only because it interviewed more blacks and used black interviewers, but also because the interviews were conducted in person rather than by telephone. Telephone surveys disproportionately underrepresent less affluent black Americans.

The sample was weighted (adjusted slightly) to conform to Census Bureau figures for the overall black and white populations in regard to demographic factors such as age, education, and sex.

Theoretically, in 19 of 20 cases, a poll of the size of the black sample and the white sample is subject to a margin of sampling error of about 4 percentage points for each group. Practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion, however, may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

Dr. Linda Williams is a senior research associate and Fredrick Harris is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

(JCPS/Gallup Poll continued)

A Common National Agenda

Perhaps the most striking change shown by the survey results is the convergence between blacks and whites on the major issues of the day. The results of the 1984 survey demonstrated that blacks and whites differed sharply on the three most important issues. Blacks named unemployment, government programs to help the poor, and civil rights. Whites shared blacks' concern over unemployment, but named the federal deficit and inflation as equally important issues.

In 1986, however, the issue agendas of blacks and whites had both changed and converged. (See bar graph on this page.) When asked to name the three most important issues, blacks cited unemployment (56 percent), the high cost of living (33 percent), and drug abuse (32 percent). For whites, the order of the top three issues differed somewhat, but whites, too, cited the same three issues as their most important concerns: drug abuse (35 percent), unemployment (29 percent), and the high cost of living (28 percent).

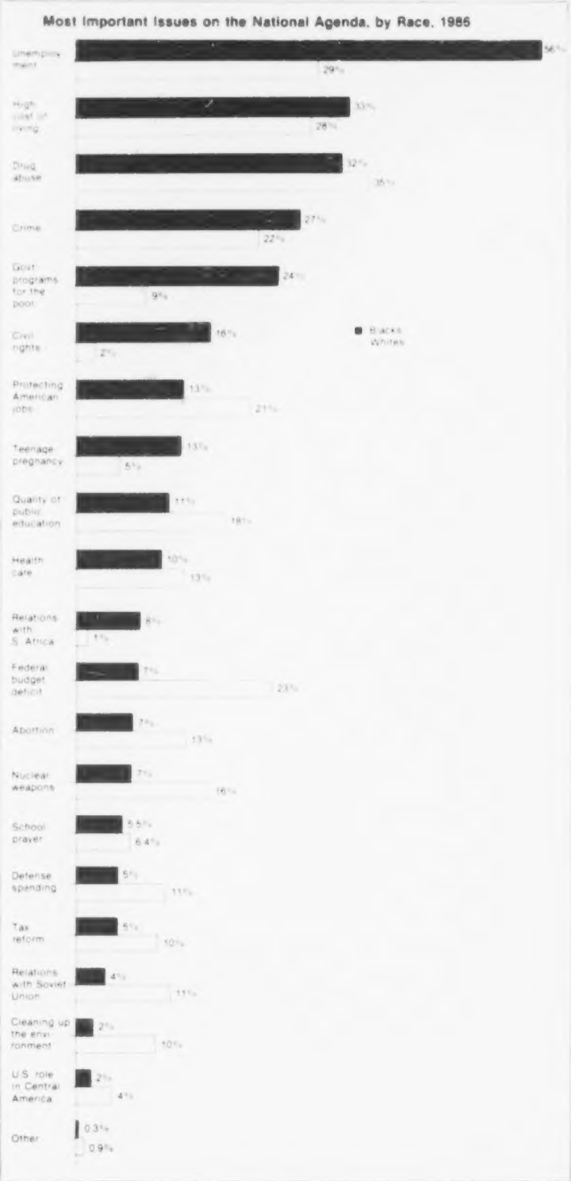
Economic and criminal justice issues have become the dominant concerns of black and white Americans.

Four other issues (crime, protecting American jobs, the quality of public education, and health care) also ranked among the top 10 issues on both blacks' and whites' lists of concerns. Indeed, it is interesting to note that a larger proportion of blacks than whites cited crime as a main concern.

Thus, on the most basic issue of all—the nation's major public policy priorities—blacks and whites now have substantially similar views.

To be sure, differences on the major issues of concern still exist. The issues that disproportionately afflict black Americans ranked far higher on their lists of concerns than on the lists of whites. Thus government programs to help the poor ranked 5th for blacks, but only 15th for whites; civil rights of minority groups ranked 6th for blacks, but near the bottom at 19th for whites; and teenage pregnancy ranked 8th for blacks, but only 17th for whites. Similarly, relations with South Africa were a relatively important issue for blacks (11th), but the least important issue for whites.

Overall, however, economic and criminal justice issues have become the dominant concerns of black and white Americans. These concerns even removed civil rights from among the top three issues for blacks. While 38 percent of blacks cited civil rights as a key concern in 1984, only 16 percent cited it in 1986. This suggests not so much that civil rights has diminished in importance as that the economic and criminal justice issues have become so overriding that they displace civil rights.



Most Important Issues on the National Agenda, by Race, 1986

Disagreement on Solutions

Though blacks and whites agree on what should be the main items on the national agenda, they fundamentally disagree over the role of government in resolving many of these problems. For example, when asked whether the federal government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, 65 percent of blacks said it should, but only 24 percent of whites thought so. When asked whether the federal government should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, 80 percent of blacks, but only 27 percent of whites, thought it should. On the other hand, whites were likely to give more support to the idea of individuals "getting ahead on their own" versus government intervention.

(Continued on page 5)

October 1986

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **A national poll shows that Jesse Jackson is the most recognized of the likely Democratic presidential contenders in 1988, but the poll also shows no gain in his support since 1984.**
- **Pioneering black politicians are running for office in majority-white jurisdictions, but they face an uphill battle to get white support.**
- **Students at the University of California at Berkeley have established a political action committee dedicated to electing a U.S. Congress that will fight for a free South Africa.**
- **The Supreme Court's recent *Gingles* decision, which outlawed multi-member districts for diluting black voting strength, has led to lawsuits by minority voters in Florida and Louisiana.**

National Poll Has Mixed Message for Jesse Jackson

A JCPS/Gallup national survey has some good news and some not-so-good news for JESSE JACKSON if he decides to run again for president in 1988. **The good news is that among black and white respondents in the survey he is the most recognized of all the likely Democratic presidential contenders.** Jackson's name was recognized by 97 percent of blacks and 90 percent of whites. By comparison, 62 percent of blacks and 80 percent of whites recognized Senator **GARY HART,** 46 percent of blacks and 79 percent of whites recognized Chrysler Chairman **LEE IACOCCA,** and 24 percent of blacks and 51 percent of whites recognized New York Governor **MARIO CUOMO.** Other potential presidential candidates, like Senator **BILL BRADLEY, San Francisco Mayor DIANNE FEINSTEIN, Arizona Governor BRUCE BABBITT, Senator JOSEPH BIDEN, Los Angeles Mayor TOM BRADLEY, and former Virginia Governor CHARLES ROBB, were recognized by even fewer respondents. . . .The not-so-good news for Jackson is that his level of support for a 1988 presidential bid has remained virtually unchanged since 1984:** 69 percent of blacks and 22 percent of whites want Jackson to run again, and 63 percent of blacks and 6 percent of whites want him to win the Democratic nomination. **This combination** of a very high name-recognition and the same level of support as in 1984 **suggests that Jackson may not be able to win new converts to his camp; his support may have peaked.**

However, other data in the survey show that Jackson's support is not static, particularly in the composition of his black supporters. **In 1984, Jackson got his support more from affluent blacks** than from the "dispossessed" and poor Americans he targeted (a point made in Yale professor **ADOLPH REED's** book, *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon).* **The 1986 data, however, reveal that the reverse is now true: Jackson's support declines as the level of education, occupational status, and income goes up.** In short, Jackson's 1986 base of support (for a 1988 presidential bid) is more likely to come from blacks who have less education, lower income, and are in lower-status occupational categories. . . .As in 1984, **Jackson's 1986 black supporters are also more likely to be from the South** than from any other region, **to be suburban and rural** rather than urban, and somewhat more likely to be **younger** rather than older, **and female** rather than male. **Jackson's strong base of support in the southern states, most of which have at least a 20 percent black population, could give him a dramatic boost in the newly structured "southern primary."**

Should Jackson run as a Democrat or as an Independent? Of those who wanted him to run again in 1988, 69 percent of blacks and 40 percent of whites said Democrat, and 18 percent of blacks and 40 percent of whites said Independent. Some even wanted him to run as a Republican: 4 percent of blacks and 3 percent of whites. . . . **Clearly, the majority of blacks want Jackson to run again—and as a Democrat. But his "Rainbow Coalition" still has only a basic ebony hue.**

Testing the Appeal of a Non-racial Election Strategy

If there is a noteworthy trend in the generally low-turnout, low-interest 1986 campaign season, it is that **several black candidates are seeking office in majority-white districts.** When the election results are finally tallied, **it is unlikely that many of them will win—and some have already lost** at the party primary stage, as reported in the September *TrendLetter.* **Yet, valuable lessons can be learned from the experiences of these pioneering politicians** as they scale one of the remaining barriers to the election of more blacks to public office.

In Virginia, for example, state Senator BOBBY SCOTT is waging a campaign with a broad-based appeal designed to remove race as an issue. "I don't even bring up race," he said in an interview with *TrendLetter.* Scott points out that several black candidates have been elected in majority-white jurisdictions in Virginia. **The winning strategy, he says, is to "look at what successful Democrats,** like [former Governor] **CHUCK ROBB,** [current Governor] **GERRY BALILES,** and [current Lieutenant Governor] **DOUG WILDER have done." The challenge to black candidates, he says, is "to get voters to think about you" by stressing issues—rather than raising questions about whether blacks can win. . . .** Similarly, **in Maryland ISIAH (IKE) LEGGETT,** a Howard University Law School professor who won the Democratic party's nomination in September for an at-large seat on the Montgomery County Council, **and ALEX WILLIAMS,** another Howard law professor, who won the Democratic nomination for Prince George's County state's attorney, **say they ran the same kind of campaign—they deemphasized race whenever possible. Instead, both men worked at building coalitions, sought support from Democratic party officials and elected leaders, and talked about working within the system.** Both won their primaries with the help of endorsements from key political figures in the Democratic party and support from numerous white voters; and, at press time, both were expected to win the elections.

In Louisiana, however, congressional candidate **FAYE WILLIAMS appeared to be facing greater obstacles, even though she won the Democratic nomination** in this 38 percent black, 88 percent Democratic district. Based on party affiliation, **Williams would seem the odds-on favorite** to win the November 4 general election, **but as *TrendLetter* went to press she faced the possibility that white Democrats are more likely to vote Republican than vote for a black candidate.** The saying "skin color is deeper than party affiliation" may again prove to be true, since **local white Democratic leaders** (including three of Williams's defeated rivals and the retiring incumbent, Representative Cathy Long) **have been reluctant to endorse or actively support Williams in the general election. However, she was endorsed by the Democratic senate hopeful, Representative JOHN BREAUX, by one of her defeated rivals (Carson Killens), and by the AFL-CIO. . . . The Republicans, meanwhile, were crowing over their unexpected chance of winning this seat** and promised the "maximum amount" of campaign funding for the Republican candidate, **CLYDE HOLLOWAY,** who is a two-time loser in this district who never won more than 20-25 percent of the vote.

In the **California** gubernatorial race, Los Angeles Mayor **TOM BRADLEY took the offensive in October with an unusual issue for a black candidate—toxic waste.** In his television ads, Bradley attacks Governor **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** for being soft on pollution and accepting campaign contributions from manufacturers who pollute. **Bradley has also addressed the issue of his race, which he didn't do in the 1982 campaign, by saying: "Because I have a black skin, and no black has ever been elected governor of California or any other state, the real issues...may not be what determine the outcome in this election."** (In 1982, when Bradley lost by only 1 percent of the vote, a Field poll estimated a 3 percent racial backlash vote against him.). . . **In Michigan,** gubernatorial candidate **WILLIAM LUCAS'S strategy was to appeal to whites on the basis of his conservatism and to blacks on the grounds that he would make history as the nation's first black governor.** At press time, **both components of this strategy appear to be failing:** an endorsement and campaign appearance by President **REAGAN** led to a drop in Lucas support among voters of all races, and **black Democratic leaders,** like Detroit's Mayor **COLEMAN YOUNG** and Congressman **JOHN CONYERS, have villified Lucas for embracing Reagan and the Religious Right. . . . In sum, black candidates in majority-white jurisdictions face steep, uphill battles. White voters remain reluctant to support black candidates even when they win their party's nomination. Yet, those black candidates who make the best showing may be those who de-emphasize race in their campaigns and run as coalition-builders within the party.** The lingering concern among blacks is whether black officials who are dependent on white votes can effectively work on the issues of concern to most blacks.

Across the Nation

California

A group of law students and recent graduates from the University of California at Berkeley have established "Freedom Now," a political action committee (as opposed to a lobbying organization) **dedicated to electing a U.S. Congress that will fight for a free South Africa.** They are seeking to defeat pro-apartheid senators and representatives in 1986 and in future elections. **Thus they are targeting only those races where the election of one of the candidates will advance the cause of a free South Africa—i.e., contests where a supporter of U.S. government action against the Pretoria regime is in a close race against a candidate who does not support such action.** A candidate's party affiliation and position on most other issues do not affect support by the PAC. . . . Freedom Now's chair **GEOFFREY TAYLOR GIBBS,** is the son of Dr. **JAMES GIBBS,** professor of anthropology at Stanford University, and Dr. **JEWELL GIBBS,** associate professor in the School of Social Welfare at Berkeley.

Florida

A bi-partisan coalition of prominent black and Hispanic **Dade County community leaders filed a federal class action lawsuit alleging that at-large, county-wide elections of Metro commissioners were discriminatory under the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Thornburg v. Gingles*.** The lawsuit alleges that **in the 29-year history of the Metro commission only one black (insurance agent EARL CARROLL) and no Hispanics have been elected to the eight-member commission** without first being appointed. **Nineteen percent of Dade County's registered voters are black and 25 percent are Hispanic.**

Georgia

A runoff election victory by MICHAEL HIGHTOWER (D-District 7) has produced a black majority on the Fulton County Commission for the first time in its history. Other blacks on the seven-member commission, which governs Georgia's largest county, are **Commission Chairman MICHAEL LOMAX and Commissioners A. REGINALD EAVES and CHUCK WILSON. (MARTIN LUTHER KING III, who faces a Republican opponent in the general election, is also likely to be elected.)** Hightower defeated the incumbent, **BRUCE BANISTOR,** 53 percent to 47 percent, in the runoff; he had no Republican opponent in the general election.

Louisiana

In Louisiana, as in Florida, the Supreme Court's ***Gingles* ruling has spawned a lawsuit asserting that at-large election districts—this time for electing state judges—dilute black voting power** and violate the Voting Rights Act. At present, **only 8 (1.9 percent) of 410 elected judges in Louisiana are black, though 27 percent of the state's voting-age population is black.**

In other news, **HOWARD MARSELLUS, SR.,** the chairman of the state prison Pardon Board, and state Representative and Speaker Pro Tem **JOSEPH A. DELPIT were indicted jointly on one count of criminal conspiracy to commit public bribery and separately on one count**

each of public bribery. Marsellus and Delpit are black. Both have been accused of receiving bribes from a state police undercover agent who posed as a family friend of a convicted murderer and sought to buy a pardon.

Massachusetts

Former state Representative and one-time Boston mayoral candidate MEL KING, who was defeated in the Democratic congressional primary in the 8th district (Cambridge), **championed an ill-fated November 4 referendum calling for the secession of minority neighborhoods from Boston.** The proposed new municipality would have been named **"Mandela" in honor of the jailed South African leader.**

In western Massachusetts, **state Representative RAYMOND JORDAN, JR., won the Democratic nomination for reelection by a 1,012 vote margin** and headed into the general election without Republican or Independent opposition on the ballot. **Jordan is the only black legislator in western Massachusetts, and this was his toughest election campaign in 12 years in office.**

Mississippi

Democratic congressional candidate MIKE ESPY copied a page from the campaign book of Glendora Mayor JOHNNY THOMAS, who recently won a special election to become the first black on the Tallachatie County Board of Supervisors. In his successful campaign, **Mayor Thomas copied lists of registered voters and compared them to lists of registered motor vehicle drivers (who are identified by race) to obtain the names of registered black voters.** Espy adopted this strategy in the closing weeks of his campaign to maximize his chances of getting a large black turnout—which he needs to win. . . . **Espy supporters do not expect to get the votes of many whites, but they have welcomed the active support and campaigning of three white statewide elected officials: Attorney General ED PITTMAN, State Auditor RAY MABUS, and Secretary of State DICK MOLPUS.**

Texas

The Board of Commissioners in Jefferson County (Beaumont) is scheduled to get its first black elected county commissioner. The two candidates are businessmen **ED MOORE,** who defeated the white incumbent, 64 percent to 36 percent, in the Democratic primary, and **PRESTON FRANK,** who was unopposed as a Republican. **The winner will represent Precinct 4 which was redrawn last year after the settlement of a federal voting rights lawsuit to make it majority (57 percent) black.** Moore conceded that he would have had a difficult time winning the primary without the redistricting. Moore was favored to win since no Republican has been elected to the Board since Reconstruction.

Utah

State Senator TERRY WILLIAMS, who lost the Democratic primary in the U.S. Senate race by 261 votes, demanded a recount—and gave his opponent a slightly larger margin of victory...275 votes. Senator Williams was entitled to a recount at no personal expense because the vote margin was less than the number of voting districts in the state—1,804. **At last report, Williams, who is the only black elected official in the state, said he may mount a write-in candidacy.**

Virginia

JAMES R. SPENCER, a former federal prosecutor and Legal Aid attorney, **has been confirmed by the U.S Senate as Virginia's first black federal judge.** Spencer, a Harvard Law School graduate, was nominated by Senator **JOHN WARNER** (R-Va.) and received a bi-partisan chorus of support. **His former boss, U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia JOSEPH DIGENOVA, said, "He is extremely serious about his work...and that's of course why he was successful [as a prosecutor]."** In the U.S. attorney's office, Spencer spent the bulk of his time prosecuting narcotics cases.

Compiled by: Linda Williams, Senior Research Associate, and Alfred Baltimore, Roster Clerk.

(JCPS/Gallup Poll continued)

Declining Loyalty to the Democratic Party

A second change is a weakening of party loyalty. The allegiance of blacks to the Democratic party has been described often enough. Since the 1964 presidential election that pitted Lyndon Johnson, a Democratic president who signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, against Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee who campaigned on his adamant opposition to that act, blacks have been perhaps the most loyal part of the Democratic party's base. In 1984 when Republican Ronald Reagan won a landslide election against Democrat Walter Mondale, blacks, who made up only 10 percent of the total national electorate, contributed 25 percent of the national Democratic vote.

The 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey, however, reveals a softening in the loyalty of blacks to the Democratic party. While the overwhelming majority of blacks (78 percent) are Democrats and only 7 percent are Republicans (see pie chart on this page), a smaller proportion of blacks identified themselves in 1986 as strong Democrats than had done so in 1984—49 percent in 1986 compared to 55 percent in 1984.

This 6-point drop in the past two years should be an early warning sign that blacks may be prepared to leave the Democrats. Other results in the survey show, however, that blacks still strongly identify with the Democrats: 85 percent of blacks reported they would vote for the Democratic candidate in their congressional districts in 1986, and thinking ahead to the 1988 presidential election 80 percent reported they are likely to support the Democratic nominee. In both instances fewer than 8 percent of blacks said they were likely to vote for Republican candidates.

Higher Approval Ratings For President Reagan

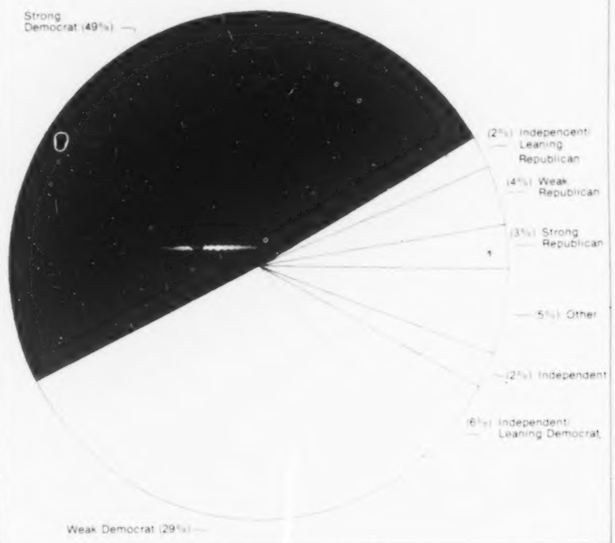
A third change in black views since 1984 is in approval of the president's overall job performance. Since 1984, President Reagan's overall job performance rating among blacks has tripled, from 8 percent in July 1984 to 29 percent in August 1986.

Nevertheless, blacks and whites remain mirror images of each other in their views of the president's performance: two of every three whites approve of the way the president is handling his job while two of every three blacks disapprove.

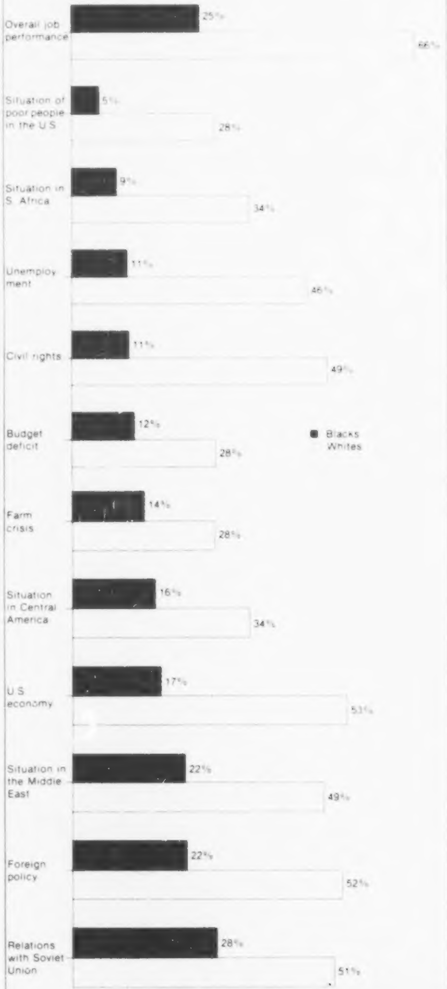
While Reagan's ratings on most domestic issues (e.g., unemployment, the situation of poor people, civil rights) are abysmally low and remain unchanged from 1984 to 1986, his ratings among blacks on foreign policy issues improved by between 10 and 15 percentage points. (See bar graph on this page for 1986 results.)

One important exception to this pattern is the president's handling of the situation in South Africa. In the 1986 poll, taken even before the president vetoed

Party Identification of Blacks, 1986



Approval of Reagan's Job Performance, by Issue and Race, 1986



legislation mandating sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime, 78 percent of blacks disapproved of the president's policy toward South Africa, and only 9 percent approved. This was the second lowest approval rating blacks gave the president. Indeed, a majority of blacks sampled in this poll want even tougher sanctions than those recently passed by Congress. Fifty-three percent think the U.S. government should require all U.S. businesses now in South Africa to close their operations, and only 25 percent oppose such action.

Younger blacks (those under 30) and black men were disproportionately likely to approve of the president's overall performance and his performance on foreign policy.

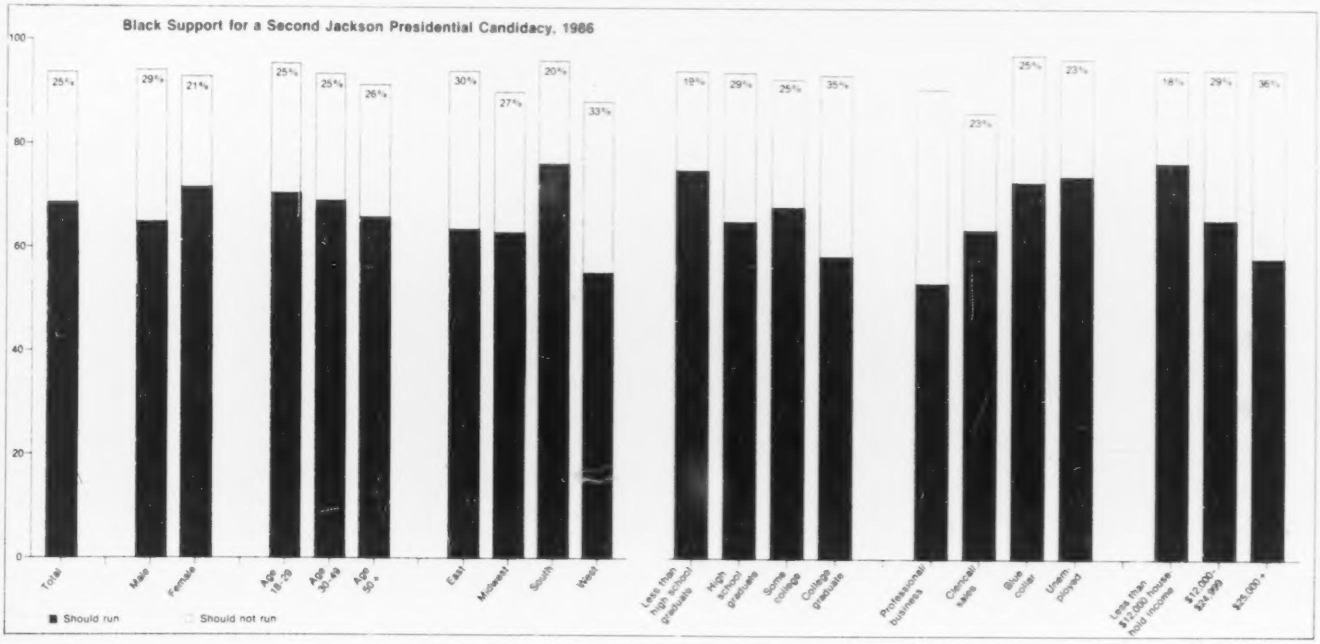
Growing Class Differences in Support for Jesse Jackson

A fourth change pertained to support for a second presidential bid for Jesse Jackson in 1988. While majorities of practically every demographic category (and 68 percent of blacks in general) support such a bid, the size of the majority declines as the level of education, occupational status, and income goes up. In short, a second presidential bid for Jackson in 1988 receives disproportionate support not only from younger blacks and southern blacks, but also from less educated, lower-income, and lower-status occupational categories of blacks. (See bar graph on this page.) This is a reversal from 1984, when Jackson's support came mostly from affluent and better educated blacks. (For more on Jackson's support for a second presidential bid, see *TrendLetter*.)

Black Men Now Better Off, Change Views

One possible explanation for why black men are twice as likely as black women (34 percent to 17 percent) to approve of the Reagan administration is that the economic status of black men is slightly better than that of black women. For example, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median income of black men in 1985 was $10,768, while the median income of black women was $6,277. Moreover, between 1984 and 1985, the median income of black men in current dollars grew by 14 percent (from $9,448 in 1984), compared to an increase of only 2 percent for black women (from $6,164 in 1984). And black men in the 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey are more likely than black women to report that their financial condition improved as a result of Reagan's economic policies (28 percent of black men said their financial situation was "somewhat better" or "much better," compared to 17 percent of black women). Black men (22 percent) were also more likely to approve of the way President Reagan was handling "economic conditions in this country" than black women were (12 percent).

The emergence of a gender gap among blacks may also be attributable to a more hawkish stance on foreign policy among black men. While the views of black men were indistinguishable from the views of black women on most domestic policy issues, men were more likely to approve of the president on foreign policy (by approximately 10 percentage points).


Black Support for a Second Jackson Presidential Candidacy, 1986

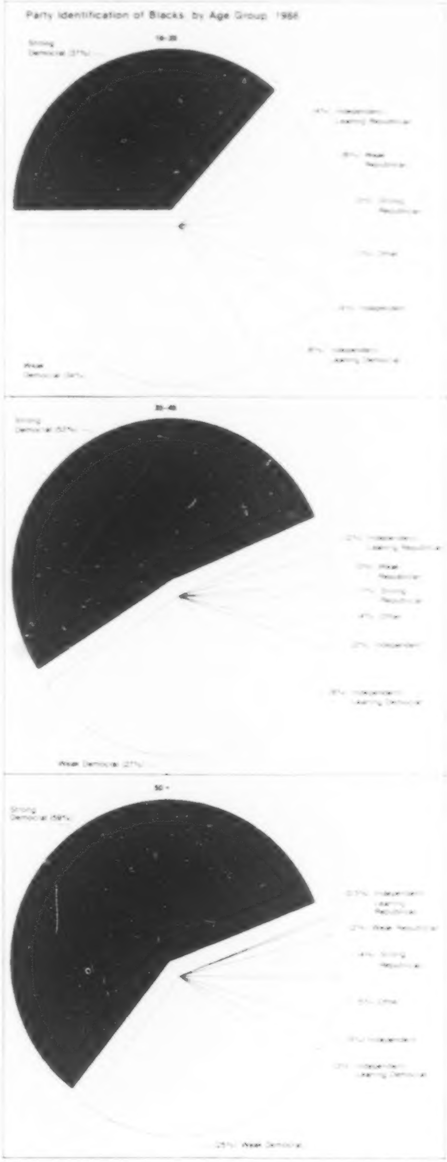
The Post-Civil-Rights Generation

Younger blacks are especially less likely to identify themselves as strong Democrats: only 37 percent of blacks under 30 do so, compared to more than 50 percent of blacks over 30. (See pie charts on this page.) Moreover, although the differences are very small, it appears that blacks under 30 are more likely than blacks over 30 to identify themselves as Republicans. While 10 years ago, half of all black Republicans were over 50 years old, in the 1986 survey half of all black Republicans are under 30 years old—a complete reversal.

The "generational theory" of Paul Abramson and other political scientists may help explain the differences of political opinion among blacks of different age groups. That theory posits that key events during the formative years of a generation help shape political attitudes of that age cohort in later years. As described earlier in this article, blacks aged 18-29 are more likely than older blacks to have weak ties to the Democratic party and to approve of President Reagan's job performance. What events in their lives help explain these views?

The post-civil rights generation of blacks (those 18-29) reached political maturity after the mid-1970s. Their formative years were a period of comparatively few (if any) advances in civil rights, less protest, more integration of public schools and public accommodations, and relatively more affluence among blacks than in the formative years of their parents and grandparents. Most had little or no direct experience with Jim Crow and, to a large extent, they are the immediate beneficiaries of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. They have vague, if any, recollections of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, urban riots, or the strong efforts of black Americans to secure passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, or of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs—all events and personalities that shaped the political attitudes of older black Americans, who experienced and vividly remember that period in American history.

Unlike the post-civil rights generation, the civil rights generation (blacks 30-49) reached political maturity during the the 1950s and 1960s, a period of rapid social change and high salience for civil rights issues among blacks and other Americans. The shared experiences of the civil rights generation may explain this cohort's stronger attachment to the Democratic party and greater disapproval of a president who has been viewed as an enemy of civil rights for minority groups.


Party Identification of Blacks, by Age Group, 1986

Finally, the New Deal generation (blacks 50 or older) came into political maturity before the civil rights movement and witnessed the social advances made by blacks during the 1950s and the 1960s. This cohort is likely to have lived through the Great Depression or to have been born during it. Although the New Deal offered little along the lines of a formal legislative or judicial attack on the institutions of white supremacy, some advances in the position of blacks were achieved as spin-offs from legislation designed to benefit the lower income strata generally. This generation of blacks was largely converted to the Democratic party—and has remained staunchly loyal to it. Of all age groups, they least approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as president. ■

TELESCOPE

JCPS PARLEY CLARIFIES ISSUES IN CONTROVERSIAL SET-ASIDE DEBATE

A one-day JCPS conference on minority set-asides brought together well over 100 people, including public officials, entrepreneurs, scholars, government administrators, and journalists. The purpose of the conference was to spur a critical examination of set-asides within the community of affirmative action supporters.

Among the speakers were Drew S. Days III, a Yale law professor and former assistant attorney general who successfully argued the Supreme Court case which established the constitutionality of set-asides, and retiring Congressman Parren Mitchell, who has played a leading role in the enactment of federal set-aside legislation. Days favored taking a second look at set-aside laws to ensure that they were narrowly tailored to withstand constitutional scrutiny.

During his luncheon address Congressman Parren Mitchell cast the debate in terms of economic empowerment. He said that opponents of set-asides who charge reverse discrimination were opposed to set-asides precisely because they were succeeding.

Also speaking at the conference was Robert Suggs, a senior research associate at JCPS, who noted that set-asides would have to be maintained for several decades if they were to be effective.

A full conference report will appear in a future issue of *Focus*.

JCPS DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS PROGRAM: APPLICATIONS INVITED

The Joint Center is now accepting applications for its third annual Distinguished Scholars competition. The program is funded by a grant from the MacArthur Foundation and enables outstanding scholars and public policy analysts to spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center in Washington, D.C., to conduct research on issues of fundmental importance to black Americans. A maximum stipend of $60,000 will be given to the scholar selected for the year.

The Joint Center is a national nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy research institution. Its research covers three broad areas—economic policy, social policy, and political participation. The Joint Center conducts demographic studies and maintains an extensive data bank on the social, economic, and political characteristics of black Americans.

The scholar selected will have great flexibility in planning a program of activities for the fellowship year. She/he will be expected to complete at least one major piece of publishable research on a topic of mutual interest to the scholar and the Joint Center.

Applicants for 1987-88 should submit a curriculum vitae and a statement of no more than 2,500 words describing the project to be completed during their stay at the Joint Center and the ways in which their interests relate to the Joint Center's work. Applicants should arrange to have two letters of support for the project sent to the Joint Center, indicating the candidate's ability to bring the work to successful completion.

Applications must be postmarked no later than December 5, 1986. The award will be announced early 1987.

For more information write Distinguished Scholars Program, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004; or call (202) 626-3562. ■

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1986 Elections: Major Implications for Blacks

Will the Senate and the Democrats Reward Black Voters?
What Will Black Politics Be Like in the Post-Reagan Era?

Workfare Is No Panacea for Ills of Poverty

Few May Benefit, But Not the Large Underclass

Political TrendLetter

Voter Turnout; Congressional Black Caucus; Statewide Winners; "Across the Nation"

Perspective

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1986 *Focus* Index

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PERSPECTIVE

The Message of the Black Vote in 1986

Now that voters have cast their ballots and the final results of the 1986 midterm elections have been posted, a new kind of campaign is under way as politicians and the press seek to interpret the election results. Putting a "spin" on election results is an old game, but one with great significance because it determines who is ultimately perceived as the "winners" and the "losers."

This year the spinners, those who tilt or manipulate election results to their own advantage, have been especially active, seeking to influence political decisions over the next two years and to shape the environment for the 1988 presidential election.

The Democratic spin suggests that their recapture of the U.S. Senate by a 55 to 45 seat margin puts them in an excellent position to defang the Reaganites during the next two years and to recapture the White House in 1988. The Republican spin suggests that the midterm elections were decided on state and local and not national issues and therefore have few implications for the outcome of the 1988 presidential election.

The spin that blacks put on the 1986 election suggests that they are a major factor that both parties must reckon with. It is a spin with considerable substance.

In assessing the significance of the black vote in 1986, the key question is whether black voters provided the margin of support that made the difference in some key elections. By this yardstick, as reported in this issue, the black vote was critical in giving Senate control to the Democrats and in electing more blacks to public office, including three new members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Although blacks supported the losing gubernatorial candidates in Texas, Florida, and California, they preferred the winning Democrats in Pennsylvania, Michigan (against a black GOP candidate) and stemmed the tide of Democratic losses in other states. In sum, the tally sheet for black voters includes a host of key victories and a few tough losses—not a bad take, in betting terms.

Yet, some pundits have begun to put their own "spin" on these results and to question the importance of the black vote. It is as if black voters have been felled by an election-night neutron bomb, which leaves their vote intact but makes them invisible in the aftermath of victory.

What these pundits seem to be saying—indeed encouraging—is that black voters, by virtue of their overwhelming support of Democratic candidates in 1986, have made themselves the "Typhoid Mary" of American politics. This spurious logic seems to suggest that Democrats, who need to win the Southern white vote in 1988, value blacks only "in the booth in the back in the corner in the dark" (in the words of Flip Wilson's Geraldine) while Republicans offer only a reluctant courtship toward the black vote.

This reasoning, to be charitable, demeans the sophistication and enlightened self-interest of the black vote and encourages bi-partisan racism. By voting overwhelmingly Democratic, blacks demonstrated as much pragmatism as partisanship, a stance other groups have taken and continue to take without being painted as "Typhoid Mary." When Republican candidates offer as much, if not more, to blacks than Democrats, they can expect black support. When Democrats become complacent about black support, they run the risk of defections or low turnout. The 1988 presidential election may well determine which road blacks will take.

Meanwhile, the task for black voters is to make sure that those who won with our votes now heed their voices. Unless the concerns of blacks are now placed on the agendas in Congress and in state and local legislatures, they could be provoked next time around into voting with their ballots or on their bottoms.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Workfare Is No Panacea for Ills of Poverty

Few May Benefit, But Not the Large Underclass

by William O'Hare

The White House is soon expected to release a report on welfare reform that President Reagan called for in his State of the Union address in 1986. Though the report's content is not yet known, the welfare reform idea most frequently mentioned both inside and outside the government is workfare—a term whose meaning has changed over the years.

Originally, workfare referred to a punitive program that required all welfare recipients to perform work at minimum wages in exchange for benefits received. This is the type of program President Reagan tried unsuccessfully to implement when he was governor of California in the early 1970s. Opponents often called the idea "slavefare."

Over the past few years, however, workfare has come to encompass a broad range of work and welfare programs that are often voluntary rather than mandatory and that typically include education, training, job search assistance, childcare, and transportation aid. Rather than being punitive, the goal of the newer programs is to help welfare recipients find and keep jobs.

It is not known at this time which of these or other versions of workfare the administration will push, but it can be said that workfare in any form will not significantly reduce either poverty or welfare dependency. Many analysts, myself included, support efforts to increase education, training, and job search assistance, but those who see workfare as a panacea for our poverty problem are likely to be disappointed. More importantly, implementation of a workfare program may lead people to believe, mistakenly, that we have solved the poverty problem or have taken a major step in that direction.

Only A Few Will Benefit

A look at some numbers reveals the limited impact workfare can be expected to have in reducing poverty. In 1985, 20 million adults were living in poverty (including 9 million "working poor") but only 3.5 million families received AFDC (Aid to Families With Dependent Children), the program that is typically tied to workfare (though recipients of food stamps and other welfare benefits are included in some workfare models.) Thus, even if workfare were fabulously successful and the number of AFDC recipients were cut in half (which no one expects), it would reduce the number of adults in poverty by only 5 to 10 percent.

Workfare's impact on welfare dependency would also be minimal. About half of the women who receive AFDC payments need welfare for less than a year; for these women, AFDC provides temporary support for getting through hardships brought on by major events such as divorce or sudden unemployment. These AFDC recipients leave the program after a relatively short time and would probably benefit more from higher payment levels in their period of need than from the workfare program.

Of the group of welfare mothers who stay on welfare for more than a year, many would not be expected to work because they have small children to care for. Furthermore, many long-term welfare mothers are high-school drop-outs with little or no work experience and would therefore require extensive education and training assistance before they could get off the welfare rolls and assume private sector jobs. But programs offering that kind of extensive assistance go far beyond what workfare usually provides.

Once you remove those who are likely to leave welfare soon anyway, those with young children, and those who require a heavy investment, the group for whom a workfare program is likely to make a major difference is relatively limited.

> *Workfare programs may boost earnings, but "have virtually no impact on exit rates from AFDC."*

The evidence to date suggests that workfare-type programs (like ET in Massachusetts and GAIN in California) do help welfare recipients obtain jobs and increase their earnings, but the impact is not large. A recent evaluation of new workfare programs in San Diego, Baltimore, and two counties in Arkansas indicates that workfare programs boost the likelihood of employment by about 6 percentage points and raise earnings by 10 to 36 percent, but they have virtually no impact on exit rates from AFDC. Workfare may initially cost more than welfare but, because a program participant's earnings will rise and welfare benefits will be reduced, the costs to government ultimately will be lower. This type of workfare program will be helpful, but it won't perform miracles.

Dr. O'Hare is associate director of research for social policy at JCPS.

Workfare and the Underclass

Workfare applies only to those who already receive benefits. What about the large group of long-term poor (primarily single, young, black men) who typically receive no government benefits at all? There is widespread agreement that many are so poorly educated and lacking in skills that they have no realistic prospects of finding employment without intensive training and assistance.

How well is a workfare-type approach likely to succeed with this group? The best evidence we have on this topic comes from a Supported Work Demonstration Project conducted by the Manpower Development Research Corporation (MDRC). For about five years in the late 1970s, MDRC focused on four groups whose problems are among the most intractable in our society: long-term welfare mothers, ex-addicts, problem youth (young school drop-outs who often had criminal records and/or histories of delinquency), and ex-offenders.

People in these four groups typically have multiple problems associated with long-term poverty, and they form the core of what many would call an American underclass (see, for example, Ken Auletta's 1981 book, *The Underclass*). If a program of intervention could succeed with these groups, it could probably succeed with almost any other group one can think of.

Not surprisingly, minorities constituted a disproportionate share of these groups. All but 5 percent of the long-term AFDC mothers in the demonstration project were black or Hispanic, as were 6 out of every 7 ex-addicts, 9 out of every 10 ex-offenders, and about 19 out of every 20 people in the problem youth group.

The MDRC project tried to create a bridge between the dependence-inducing environment in which members of the four groups typically lived and the world of self-sufficiency represented by a job in the private sector. The project did this by providing intensive training and counseling under very structured and heavily supervised circumstances. In the words of the MDRC Board of Directors, "The supported work program provided individuals with severe employment problems with work experience of a year or so, under conditions of gradually increasing demands, close supervision, and work in association with a crew of peers." (The Board of Directors, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, *Summary of Findings of the National Supported Work Demonstration*, 1980, p.1).

A punitive workfare approach will not work with this group because they receive no government benefits.

Because of the importance of the MDRC project in shaping the kinds of welfare policies that are likely to enjoy support, analysts and observers waited patiently for the results of these efforts to be reported. What have been the results? Most observers would agree with the assessment of Martha Ritter and Sally Danziger that "after five years of operation and evaluation, the results were mixed." They were mixed largely in terms of who was likely to benefit from such an approach.

One group clearly benefited most from the approach used by the Supported Work Demonstration Project: long-term welfare recipients (AFDC mothers, many of whom became parents as teenagers). Following their involvement in the program, their earnings increased and their welfare dependency declined. Furthermore, these positive effects continued even after the experiment, with the special support it offered, had ended.

The results of this segment of the project were so positive that some states incorporated elements of the supported work program into the workfare policies they initiated in the early 1980s. For example, Massachusetts implemented a program entitled ET (Employment and Training) Choices and California began a program called GAIN (Greater Avenues for Independence), both of which offer education and training but, unlike the MDRC program, the two states do not offer the intensive, day-to-day supervision and extensive assistance that proved crucial to the success of the MDRC effort.

Though long-term welfare mothers benefited, the other groups in the supported work experiment showed no such gains. The ex-addicts showed a few positive effects, but the assistance that had been provided had almost no positive effects on the problem youths and the ex-offenders.

To the extent that the Supported Work Project identified the target groups that would benefit from its model program of governmental intervention, the project was a valuable experiment. Another benefit of the project was the wealth of data that was collected and maintained—particularly since the data concern groups about whom there is little information from general sources like the Census Bureau.

Perhaps the single most important result of the Supported Work Project was a better understanding of just how deep-rooted the problems of the underclass are and how difficult it will be to develop a government program that is able to have much impact on this group, particularly young unattached males. A punitive workfare approach will not work with this group because they receive no government benefits and the Supported Work Demonstration Project shows that even intensive training and support are not likely to make much of a difference. For this portion of the underclass, radical new solutions must be found.

1986 Elections: Major Implications for Black Politics

by Linda Williams

Black voters played a crucial role in enabling the Democrats to recapture the U.S.Senate. The question now is what will blacks get for their loyal support? Will the Senate be more responsive when it acts on issues important to blacks? Will the Democratic party treat blacks more favorably or continue to accuse them of running white males out of the party? Will both parties be more likely to frame an appeal to blacks' interests which, as opinion polls show, are increasingly congruent with the interests of whites on a number of key issues? This article explores these and several other questions conerning the implications of the 1986 election results.

Impact on the Senate Races

The big story of 1986 for black politics was the impact of the black vote in the Democrats' lopsided recapture of the U.S. Senate, with its critical implications for judicial appointments, budgetary priorities, and a wide variety of domestic and international policies (especially relations with South Africa). With the Democrats getting more white votes in 1986 than Mondale won in 1984, their advantage among black voters was the critical factor in at least four Senate races (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and North Carolina) and, according to CBS and NBC exit polls, in Nevada and California as well. Black voters also signficantly boosted the margin of victory of Democratic senatorial candidates in several other states—especially Maryland and Florida. (See table below.) In short, the black vote, though unable to stop the pro-Reagan tide in 1980 and 1984, was the decisive factor in effectively dealing a major blow to President Reagan and the GOP in 1986 and putting the Democrats on a more even footing for beginning the 1988 presidential race.

Will the Senate Be Responsive?

The Democratics are more likely than the Republicans to favor a more active role for the federal government. Although it is true that several committees will be chaired by Southern Democrats who are only barely less conservative (or, in some instances, more conservative) than the Republicans they are replacing, in general it looks as if the Democratic-controlled Senate will be essentially more moderate than the 99th Senate— with moderate and moderate-conservative Democrats replacing conservative Republicans in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Nevada, and North Carolina and a liberal Democrat replacing a moderate- liberal Republican in Maryland.

Blacks will benefit from the new moderation as well as from the new chairmen of two committees that control presidential nominations and key legislation of particular interest to blacks: Sen. Joseph Biden (D.-Del.) will replace Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) as chair of the Judiciary Committee, and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) will replace Sen. Orrin Hatch (R.-Utah) as chair of Labor and Human Resources.

For blacks, the new Democratic Senators may not have been their first choice, but they appear to be far more acceptable than most of the Republicans they replaced. As Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) president Ann Lewis has pointed out, all of the Democratic replacements had higher liberal ratings (where comparable ratings were available) than their defeated Republican opponents; all had liberal ratings over 50 percent; and all campaigned on the issue of a strong role for government in solving the nation's social and economic woes.

(Continued on next page)

The Black Vote and the U.S. Senate, 1986

State	*Winner*	*% Black Vote*	*% White Vote*	*% Black of Actual Electorate*	*Winner's % of Total Vote*
Alabama	Shelby-D	88	38	22	51
Calif.*	Cranston-D	96	44	7	51
Florida	Graham-D	80	52	10	55
Georgia	Fowler-D	82	39	24	51
Louisiana	Breaux-D	85	39	29	53
Maryland	Mikulski-D	87	51	18	61
Nevada	Reid-D	71	46	11	51
N.C.	Sanford-D	88	42	16	52

*Data from NBC/*Wall Street Journal* exit poll. All other data from CBS/*New York Times* exit polls.

Dr. Williams is a senior research associate at JCPS.

Public Wants Activist Government

Even before November's electoral evidence, Gallup polls had found a surge of public support for a more active federal government. When asked whether the federal government has too much power, only 28 percent in 1986 thought so—down from 38 percent in 1982; 24 percent thought the federal government was using the right amount of power—up from 18 percent in 1982; and 41 percent thought the federal government should use its powers more vigorously—up from 30 percent in 1982.

So if you link these trends with the Democrats' Senate gains among constituencies favorable to proactive government, it is easy to understand Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd's apparent decision to suspend Gramm-Rudman deficit targets and push new programs in education, science, the environment. Not only has Gramm-Rudman lacked substantial credibility with the public, but poll after poll illustrates the extent to which the electorate favors *increasing* federal outlays in popular areas like education, science, health, and the environment. Thus blacks and whites may not only be viewing the same issues as their most important concerns, as reported in the last issue of *Focus*, but they may also be coming to more agreement on the role of government in resolving these issues.

Redistricting in 1992

Although black votes for Democratic gubernatorial candidates were just as numerous as for senatorial candidates, black voters had far less impact on gubernatorial races than on senatorial races. For example, 91 percent of blacks voted for the failed candidacy of Democrat William Baxley in Alabama; 90 percent voted for defeated incumbent Democrat Mark White in Texas; not surprisingly, 94 percent of blacks voted for defeated challenger Tom Bradley in California; in Illinois, 81 percent voted for Adlai Stevenson, who lost; and even in Michigan, where William Lucas, a black Republican, was on the ticket, 79 percent of blacks voted for the Democratic victor, incumbent Governor Jim Blanchard. Although black voters boosted the margins of victory of several Democratic gubernatorial candidates, they were decisive in only one gubernatorial race, namely in Pennsylvania where Robert Casey received only 46 percent of the white vote but defeated Bill Scranton by winning 82 percent of the black vote. In general, white voters were not as divided in their preferences for gubernatorial candidates as they were for senatorial candidates, and this factor reduced the influence of the black vote in most gubernatorial races.

The GOP won an additional eight statehouses, and they understandably proud of these results. But a big caveat is in order. There's very little evidence that control of statehouses gives a party a leg up for the next presidential election.

> ***Gramm-Rudman lacks credibility with the public, which favors increasing federal outlays for education, science, health, and the environment.***

Finally, from the standpoint of controlling 1991 congressional reapportionment (a major GOP goal) the GOP won't have any more big-state governors' mansions in January than it did in 1971 or 1981, two redistricting years about which the GOP has bitterly complained. Couple this with the GOP loss of state legislative seats (the GOP lost roughly 180 state legislative seats and now hold the same percentage of state legislative seats that it holds of U.S. House seats—41%), and it is easy to see that the GOP's repositioning at the state level, at least for the moment, is pretty poor. Admittedly, all the big-state governorships and most state legislative seats will be up for grabs again in 1990, but the Democratic pickup of three additional states where they control both houses, and the Republican loss of two, give Democrats something to brag about at the state level as they plan for the coming reapportionment battles.

Will Democrats Be More Responsive?

At least some Democrats seemed to have awakened to the importance of the black vote in this election. For example, Senator Joe Biden (D-Del.) said on election night that the Democrats can't win in 1988 unless they can maintain the 1986 multi-racial coalition, and Senator-elect John Breaux (D-La.) promised to remember that he could never have won without the black vote. Nevertheless, most Democrats have been noticeably silent on the subject of black political influence. Perhaps the silent majority of Democratic leaders agree with some journalists who are making blacks the heavies in the Democrats' attempts to get their act together. Eight days after the election, one liberal *Washington Post* columnist wrote that in 1988 a heavy black vote for the Democratic candidate "may produce negative side-effects it did not have in this year's reduced electorate." Or, as a Raleigh, North Carolina associate news editor put it, "If black political leaders read too much into the returns of 1986 and do not fashion their agenda with an eye toward winning the next election, they could contribute to a rupturing of the Democratic coalition of which they are a vital part." Apparently no matter what blacks do for the Democrats—including aiding, if not determining, the party's recapture of the Senate—they will be projected as "Typhoid Mary."

(Continued on page 7)

November-December 1986

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- Sixty-three percent of the national electorate sat out the 1986 midterm elections, but black voters in some key states turned out in greater proportions than whites.
- Four new members joined the Congressional Black Caucus, representing the Mississippi Delta, Atlanta, Baltimore, and New York.
- Black candidates gained only one statewide seat and five seats in state legislatures; they lost in gubernatorial races in California and Michigan.
- Across the nation, Boston voters defeated (3-1) a referendum to create a separate city composed of minority neighborhoods; Mississippi black leaders are meeting to assess the implications of Mike Espy's election to Congress; and South Carolinans are digesting the fact that black women made up 30 percent of all newly registered voters.

Some Good News on Voter Turnout

CURTIS GANS, head of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, says of the low turnout in 1986 that the voters "voted with their bottoms—they sat it out." Fewer than 4 out of 10 Americans (37.3 percent) went to the polls—the lowest turnout since 1942, when America was at war. **The black turnout nationwide was only 31 percent, though it was considerably higher in some key races (see below). . . . The encouraging news is that the gap between black and white turnout stayed about equal to what it was in the 1984 presidential election year (7 points versus 6 points), which means that it surged dramatically in mid-term elections**—from a gap of 11 points in 1982 to 7 points in 1986. **More encouraging news is that in several important statewide races, the 1986 black turnout equaled** (e.g., Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina) **or exceeded** (e.g., Louisiana, Nevada, Pennsylvania) **the white turnout. Every indication is that the size of the black vote will continue to grow in 1988.** Thus, black voters will be well-positioned in 1988 to determine, in many states, which presidential candidate will receive the state's electoral votes. . . . **Overall, 86 percent of blacks voted for the Democratic candidate in their congressional districts, and 80 percent or more supported Democratic candidates in close senatorial and gubernatorial contests.**

Black Caucus Has Four New Members

Four new faces will join the Congressional Black Caucus in the 100th Congress, including one, MIKE ESPY (D-Miss.), who became the first black congressman from Mississippi since Reconstruction. With the reelection of all 19 members who again sought office, the CBC will now have 23 members—a record high. Besides Espy, the other new members are JOHN LEWIS (D-Ga.), KWEISI MFUME (D-Md.), and FLOYD FLAKE (D-N.Y.). . . . Espy, at 32 and now the youngest member of the CBC, won his predominantly black district after another black candidate, ROBERT CLARK, had failed to do so in 1982 and 1984. The difference in 1986, according to Espy and state Senator HENRY KIRKSEY, was that whites did not mobilize against Espy's candidacy; they sat out the election. **Espy relates the story of white voters who told him they disliked his opponent and could not bring themselves to vote for a black candidate but indirectly supported his candidacy by not voting for anyone. While whites may have helped Espy by staying home, he clear-**

ly was boosted by a large black turnout, which was organized by busloads of volunteers associated with the National Black Leadership Roundtable and by successful efforts of the nonpartisan National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. . . . **In Atlanta, JOHN LEWIS coasted to an easy 3-1 victory over the Republican candidate, journalist PORTIA SCOTT. Though Lewis ran strongly among all segments of the black community, his support among whites dropped from 87 percent in the runoff primary to 47 percent in the general election.** As Spelman College political science professor MARILYN DAVIS said, "White voters were less willing to support John Lewis when JULIAN BOND was not his opponent and when there was a Republican candidate on the ballot.". . . **The other two new CBC members won seats previously held by blacks: FLOYD FLAKE replaced ALTON WALDON** (who was in office for only three months as a replacement for his deceased predecessor, the late Rep. Joseph Addabo) in New York's 6th district; **and KWEISI MFUME replaced former Representative PARREN MITCHELL, who retired and ran unsuccessfully as Maryland's lieutenant governor candidate.** Mfume defeated a black Republican candidate, ST. GEORGE CROSSE. . . .

Two other unsuccessful candidates who had been given a good chance of winning were FAYE WILLIAMS in Louisiana's 8th district and state Senator BOBBY SCOTT in Virginia's 1st district. In interviews with *TrendLetter*, both candidates reflected on their campaigns. **Williams, who lost because of white crossover voting in this 88 percent Democratic district, was unable to benefit from the unusually high black turnout (67 percent)—a backlash against GOP "ballot security" efforts. In explaining her defeat, Williams cited a sharply negative campaign by her opponent after the primary:** she was accused of supporting drug use because she had worked as counsel to the National Football League Player Relations Committee; she was called "un-American" because her campaign manager was an Arab-American; and she was "made to look like a criminal" by a local newspaper, which brought up an incident from her past in which she was a victim. Williams attributed the negative campaign to the Republican National Committee and said of her opponent that "it's hard to believe the CLYDE HOLLOWAY I saw in the last few weeks was the real person." Williams also said that some black male state legislators in Louisiana did not work hard on her campaign and indicated they seemed to believe a black male should win a congressional seat before a black woman. . . . **In Virginia, BOBBY SCOTT attributed his loss to the difficulty of unseating an incumbent and to the Republicans' superior voter turnout effort:** "They had a phone bank with 25 phones going every night. I just couldn't compete with that." He was pleased, however, with the 60 percent black turnout—very high for an off-year election without any statewide races to draw people to the polls. **Next on the agenda for Scott is to be reelected to his state senate seat when his term expires next year.** As the incumbent, he expects no difficulty in winning. . . . **Apart from Williams and Scott, two other black congressional candidates—both Republicans—were soundly defeated: LAMAR KEELS, in the 4th district of Arkansas, and RON CRUTCHER in the 3d district of Ohio.**

Though the CBC now numbers 23, **Rep. CARDISS COLLINS remains the only black female in Congress. Moreover, black females, although they vote in much higher numbers than black males, were not well represented among the unprecedented number of black congressional candidates this year:** they accounted for only 1 out of every 7 blacks who ran for seats in the U.S. House. There is a growing feeling in the black community that electing more black females to Congress should be a top priority on the coming agenda of blacks for 1988.

Statewide Office-Holders

There are still no black governors. Los Angeles Mayor TOM BRADLEY, a Democrat, lost his second bid to become California's top state official, and Republican WILLIAM LUCAS also lost in Michigan, with Congressman JOHN CONYERS and Detroit Mayor COLEMAN YOUNG leading the opposition to Lucas's conservative campaign. Race-based voting is still a factor in statewide election results as was demonstrated by a question NBC News put to voters in its exit polls in California and Michigan. NBC asked voters if their state was ready to elect a black for governor. Only 40 percent of whites in Michigan and 52 percent in California agreed that it was. Statewide offices remain the most difficult offices for blacks to win. . . . **Only six blacks (all Democrats) won statewide offices in the 1986 election. Five were incumbents: ROLAND BURRIS, the state comptroller in Illinois; RICHARD AUSTIN, the secretary of state in Michigan; REUBEN ANDERSON, a Supreme Court judge in Mississippi; Dennis Archer, a Supreme Court judge in Michigan; and JAMES LEWIS, the state treasurer in New Mexico in 1985.** (Judge Archer and Mr. Lewis had been appointed to their positions before the elections, but were first elected in November.) **The one new statewide officeholder-elect, FRANCISCO BORGES, was elected state treasurer in Connecticut.**

Despite Democratic successes in state legislative races, however, black candidates did not fare particularly well. In 1982 (perhaps as a reflection of favorable redistricting after the 1980 Census), **blacks gained 45 additional state legislative seats; in 1984, blacks gained only 7 additional state legislators; and this year, blacks had a net gain of only 9 state legislators.** This is an area for black politicos to set their sights on in 1988 and 1990 if they want to increase their influence following the 1990 reapportionment battles.

Across the Nation

Alabama

REUBEN DAVIS (a school teacher) and CHRIS MCNAIR (a state representative) have become the first blacks ever elected to the Jefferson County Commission. Davis will represent District 1 and McNair will represent District 2.

District of Columbia

Mayor MARION BARRY won a third term by 61 percent to 33 percent over his closest opponent, Republican CAROL SCHWARTZ. Schwartz, who is white, defeated the mayor in two wards with a high white concentration. **It was the first time since the District was granted home rule in 1974 that the vote was racially split.** Ninety percent of blacks voted for Barry and 85 percent of whites voted for Schwartz.

In other races, strong bi-racial coalitions supported city council President DAVID CLARKE (who is white), D.C. Delegate WALTER FAUNTROY, School Board Member-elect WILMA HARVEY in Ward 1, and several other city council members—by wide margins of 75 percent of the vote or above.

The National Black Leadership Roundtable (NBLR) held a press conference two days after the November election to assess the election results, demonstrate unity among black leaders, and plan a battle for U.S. Rep. CHARLES RANGEL (D-N.Y.) to be elected majority whip of the House. Rangel's chief competitor is Rep. TONY COEHLO (D-Calif.). Coehlo is widely viewed as leading, but Rangel's staff and the NBLR point to a closing of the gap.

Florida

NATHAN PETERS, JR., became the first black elected county commissioner in Gulf County. When he was a city commissioner, he filed the lawsuit that resulted in the creation of single-member districts for the county commission. His district is 63 percent black and he won 62 percent of the total vote.

Maryland

LEMUEL CHESTER II, a 39-year-old Cambridge drug and alcohol counselor, became the first black to be elected to an Eastern Shore county's governing body. Chester handily defeated his Republican opponent, the Rev. KELFORD JACKSON, a Cambridge black Baptist minister, by a more than 3-to-1 margin, to represent the county's predominantly black 2d district. He has pledged to improve housing, crack down on illegal drugs, and promote economic development. . . . **Two Howard University law school professors won key posts: ISIAH (IKE) LEGGETT became the first black elected to the Montgomery County Council; and ALEX WILLIAMS became the first black state's attorney for Prince Georges County.**

Massachusetts

Blacks voted 3 to 1 and whites voted 4 to 1 to defeat a nonbinding secession referendum (better known as the Mandelaville propopostion—named after South African leader Nelson Mandela) for the Roxbury section of Boston. Most political pundits claim that the secession referendum was disproportionately supported by lower-income black Bostonians and disproportionately rejected by middle-class blacks who felt that working within the system was more advantageous to

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black interests and who also did not want to pay the high taxes that would be required to support "Mandelaville." Others say that despite the failure of the Mandelaville proposition, it has not only served to demonstrate the frustrations of many black Bostonians but also has elicited an agreement by Mayor RAY FLYNN to deal more constructively with the problems of Roxbury. **Some observers say the defeat of the referendum, which was actively supported by former state legislator and Boston mayoral candidate MEL KING, demonstrates the eclipse of King's influence with blacks.** They point to other black leaders close to Mayor Flynn (e.g., council president BRUCE BOLLING) as the heirs-apparent to King among blacks.

Michigan

Rumor has it that **former Congressman Charles Diggs will run again for his old seat (13th district, in Detroit) in 1988 after the expected retirement of the incumbent, 77 year-old Congressman George Crockett.** The problem is nobody checked with Crockett, who told *Trendletter,* "it is news to me. I'll be here as long as my health holds out—and my parents lived to a ripe old age."

Diggs, once the dean of the state's U.S. House delegation and the powerful head of two committees, **was convicted in 1978 for illegally diverting more than $60,000 of his congressional employees' salaries to pay his personal and congressional bills.** He has now served his sentence and is free to seek office.

Mississippi

Blacks in Mississipi are organizing a statewide meeting to assess the meaning of the ESPY victory, to set a legislative agenda for 1987, and to prepare for state legislative, county, and mayoral races in 1987. Planners hope to determine whether or not there will be an ongoing statewide black organization. **Blacks in the state are also heavily supportive of a lawsuit brought under Sections 2 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act by state Sen. HENRY KIRKSEY aimed at securing the creation of single-member districts for 20 chancery court districts and 20 circuit court districts.** Currently, there are 40 circuit court judges in the state, and only one (who was appointed) is black; there are 39 chancery judges, and none is black.

New Mexico

Former Bernadillo County Treasurer JAMES LEWIS has become the first black statewide elected official in this state. Lewis, a native of the state, was appointed to the office of state treasurer by outgoing Hispanic Governor TONY ANAYA in December 1985. He handily defeated his Republican opponent, PAUL DONISTHOYSE, by 58 percent to 42 percent. New Mexico is only 2 percent black.

South Carolina

This year, although South Carolina gained only a relatively small number of new registrants, black women made significant voter registration increases. The state registration total grew from 1.2 million in 1982 to 1.3 million in 1986. **Out of every 10 additional registrants, 4 were white women, 3 were black women, 2 were white men, and 1 was a black man.** Black women constituted 30 percent of the overall increase, which was more than the combined increase for white and black men (25 percent). **Blacks compose only 27 percent of the voting-age population in the state, but the total number of black women registrants is now over half the total number of white male registrants.**

Tennessee

State Rep. LOIS M. DEBERRY has become the first female House Speaker Pro Tem. Ms. DeBerry has been a state legislator since 1972.

Texas

Winning 3 of every 4 votes cast, South Dallas civic activist EDDIE BERNEICE JOHNSON, vice-president of Governmental and Community Affairs for the Visiting Nurse Association of Texas, became the first black elected to represent Dallas in the state senate since Reconstruction, and the second black woman to serve in the state senate (after former congresswoman and state senator BARBARA JORDAN, who represented Houston). Johnson will represent the 23d Senate district.

Compiled by: Linda Williams, Senior Research Associate, and Alfred Baltimore, Roster Clerk.

Black Politics In the Post-Reagan Era

Major elements of the opinion-making community (especially the media) are already beginning to suggest that the post-Reagan era has begun. Here are some of the principal dynamics that will affect blacks:

1) Democrats will run Congress reasonably secure in the belief that their control will continue for the rest of the decade. This is likely to make them somewhat more ambitious to legislate reforms favored by blacks and a large segment of other Americans—especially in the area of education. Almost nothing will be done, however, about civil rights policy, barring a mighty uprising from blacks in the streets and a significant lobbying campaign. Heavy participation at the ballot box was not enough, since Democrats seem to see the 1986 election results as a centrist not as a liberal victory. Despite the great influence of the black vote, the Democrats will be more concerned about keeping a large proportion of the white (especially southern white) vote. It is likely that major elements of both parties will try to curb their ideological wings on the left and right as part of a new and critical competition for a re-emerging political center.

2) Black Republicans will step up their criticisms of their party—especially attacking any future programs such as the backfiring Republican "ballot integrity" project which sought to knock black voters off the voter rolls and made blacks acutely aware that the Republican party was still much more foe than friend. Clarence Thomas, black head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), has already held a news conference criticizing the Republicans for ignoring the black vote. Wise Republicans will be more likely to make some specific appeals to at least try to more successfully split the black vote—especially in the South.

3) Ronald Reagan's governmental views and beliefs—perceived by the white electorate asbenefiting the United States in the early 1980s but bearing less relation to contemporary national needs—will play a diminishing role in 1987-88. With the press on the attack with continued revelations about his foreign policies, Reagan's approval rating will start to decline among all groups—and especially among blacks.

4) Both parties will move away from the old Reagan agenda debate and toward the new issues and independent postures likely to be necessary for success in 1988. With the Democrats' recapture of the Senate, both parties are on more even footing as they turn towards 1988 and every single group's votes will generate more interest.

Blacks, who will be more than 10 percent of the national electorate in 1988, will find themselves at least a bit more courted by Republican contenders—especially moderates. If the Democrats move too far to the right some blacks may try a third party or independent route or may find the Republicans to be more attractive.

5) The 1987 local races (especially mayoral races) may also influence how blacks vote in 1988. The race to watch will very likely be the Chicago mayoral election in April. If national party Democrats remain silent on the fate of incumbent Harold Washington, they may suffer in black support.

In conclusion, the black vote again showed clout in 1986. The turnout gap between blacks and whites was lower than in 1982. It helped not only to elect more blacks and recapture control of the Senate for the Democrats, but to establish a more equal starting point for both parties for 1988. The point now is to see what each party does with this equal footing vis-a-vis black America.

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Thus, the continuing crisis for black politics is the nature of black influence within the two-party system. Black voters played a significant role in Democratic fortunes in 1986, but so far have received little or nothing for it but dire warnings. The most critical question for black politics in 1986 remains: How are blacks to increase their influence in a party to which they give 90 percent of their votes in national elections and rarely under 80 percent in other elections? And at least one of the most critical questions for the Democratic party is: How can it win—especially in the all important South where blacks compose 20 percent or more of the total voting-age population in every Deep South state and at least 10 percent in the Border states—if it alienates the black vote or even depresses black turnout?

After all, Democratic presidential candidates have received a majority of the white vote only once (1964) since 1948, and the 1986 results suggest that while the Democrats may be able to regain a substantial proportion of white voters they are not yet likely to win the majority of white votes in many states, especially in the South. In short, if the Democratic party wants to win in 1988 (and, of course, it does) it must be capable of putting together a coalition that includes at least a substantial proportion of whites (say, 40-45 percent) and maintain its nearly unanimous black support. At the same time, it must appeal enough to blacks to produce an enthusiastic black electorate that turns out in high numbers.

Thus, like it or not, in 1988 the fortunes of the Democratic party will be tied to the black vote. Blacks need to start now deciding that no matter whom they support in 1988, they have a bottom line for what they want in return for their support. ■

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FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES DECLINE; BUT REMAIN AT ALARMING LEVEL

The growth rate of families maintained by black women has declined significantly since the mid-1970s, according to the Commerce Department's Census Bureau. Such families grew 41 percent from 1970 to 1975; the growth dropped to 19 percent in the 1980s.

The rate of increase among white female householders also has slowed since 1975, but at a lesser rate than for blacks, the report shows. The white rate dropped to 15 percent in 1980-1985, from 25 percent in 1970-1975.

While growth rates have fallen, the number and proportion of families maintained by women have risen since 1970. For blacks the total rose from 1.4 million to 3 million and for white families from 4.1 million to 6.9 million. Women maintained 44 percent of black families in 1985, up from 28 percent, while women maintained 13 percent of white families, up from 9 percent.

The nation had an estimated 6.8 million black families in 1985, of which 51 percent were married-couple families. Black families totaled 4.9 million in 1970.

The number of white families increased from 46.2 million to 54.4 million in 1970-1985. A husband and wife were present in more than four out of five white families in 1985.

Copies of the final report, *Household and Family Characteristics: March 1985*, P-20, No. 411, are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20402.

The data in this report come from a survey, and are subject to a margin of error that would not be present in a full census of the population. ■

BLACK POLITICS CONTEST

The Committee for the Status of Blacks of the Western Political Science Association is sponsoring a black politics paper contest.

Papers on black politics (national or international) or other issues of concern to the black community are invited. Two prizes will be awarded: $200 to the first-place winner, $100 to the second-place winner. Winners will be announced at the annual WPSA meetings in Anaheim, California, March 26-28, 1987. Entrants do not need to attend the meeting to enter the contest.

Send papers to (or for further information contact) Professor Vernon D. Johnson, Department of Political Science, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Wash., 98225. ■

NEW DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AT JCPS

Dr. Margaret Simms, an economist, has joined the Joint Center as deputy director of research. Dr. Simms received her doctorate from Stanford University, and taught at Atlanta University from 1972 to 1976, when she was named chairperson of the economics department. In 1977 and 1978 she was a Brookings Economic Policy Fellow at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. She then joined the Urban Institute as a senior research associate in 1979, and was appointed director of the Institute's Minorities and Social Policy program in 1981. Since 1983, Dr. Simms has also served as editor of the *Review of Black Political Economy*. She has written numerous scholarly papers and policy reports and, most recen. was co-editor (with Julianne Malveaux) of *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*. ■

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1987 Mayoral Elections; Jesse Jackson Interview; Politics in Virginia; Across the Nation

Perspective

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A Time to Celebrate and to Re-affirm our Mission

This month the nation celebrates the official birthday of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., and this year it celebrates the bicentennial of our Constitution. Both occasions are inextricably bound in a single garment which clothes the role of black Americans in expanding constitutional rights to all Americans.

The Joint Center will celebrate both of these historic occasions. Doing so underscores the role we play in the fields of research and public policy analysis, and pays due respect to our own founding in 1970 as an outgrowth of the long struggle by blacks to gain full access to political rights.

From the beginning our mission has remained the same: To enable black Americans to participate fully and effectively in the governance of our society.

This mission derives its vitality from several precepts central to a democratic society. One is that knowledge is power and that disciplined intelligence can serve strategic objectives. Another is that we can influence the society at large and policymakers in particular by providing them with timely and cogent information. A third is that one of the ways in which black Americans can help themselves best is through effective political action and public policy formulation.

Thus, our main objectives at the Joint Center are to conduct research and public policy analysis that will (a) improve the socioeconomic status of blacks, (b) increase their influence in all areas of governance, and (c) facilitate the building of coalitions across racial lines to reach consensus on major public policy issues.

These objectives become even more critical as we look ahead to a future in which racial differences will continue to dominate the public policy agenda and create tensions that will demand special attention. I need to cite only a few points: blacks will comprise a growing proportion of the nation's public school students and labor force entrants, and many of them will be poorly prepared to compete in an increasingly complex national and global economy; the overall economic condition of blacks will lag well behind that of whites; family disintegration, crime, and drug abuse will continue to haunt the black community; and, the polarization of a growing middle class and a growing poverty population has frightening implications. The search for solutions to these problems will be compounded by public policies which will be less race-specific. This will challenge blacks to search for consensus solutions, to adopt new strategies, and to form new coalitions.

As we face these problems and challenges that lie ahead, the Joint Center's long-range vision is to become a leader in both the public policy and intellectual communities: to become a place where new ideas surface and are tested; where scholars, politicians, and civil rights leaders mix comfortably; and, a place where blacks and whites do their best thinking about what is good for the nation. To celebrate Dr. King's birth and the bicentennial of our Constitution, we can do no better than to reaffirm our mission and pledge our commitment to excellence and productivity. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Courts Battle Bias In Jury System

New Rulings May Ensure Fairer Trial for Criminal Defendants

by John Charles Boger

One of the most regrettable legacies of America's racially divided past is the continuing influence of race in our criminal justice system. The country's courts long forbade blacks to sit as jurors or judges in criminal trials—or even to testify as witnesses—and those same all-white courts regularly meted out far harsher sentences against black defendants than against whites. (See generally L. Higginbotham, Jr. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process.)*

While laws sanctioning such overt discrimination have long been removed from the nation's statute books, many of these inequities have continued to be tolerated in practice. "We cannot deny," United States Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun wrote in 1979, "that, 114 years after the close of the War Between the States . . . racial and other forms of discrimination still remain a fact of life, in the administration of justice as in our society as a whole."

During the past year the Supreme Court has heard a number of important cases in which parties have urged the Court to eliminate various lingering influences of racial discrimination. One recent case, *Vasquez v. Hillary*, involved a charge by a black defendant that a California judge who was charged with the selection of grand jurors—those citizens who meet to hear a prosecutor's charges and decide whether or not to indict a defendant for a crime—had persistently discriminated against black citizens by refusing to name them to the county's grand jury. The state of California argued that this violation of law, even if proven, was irrelevant since the defendant was plainly guilty and his conviction had occurred years earlier. Justice Thurgood Marshall, writing for a majority of the Court, firmly disagreed:

> ***"[I]ntentional discrimination in the selection of grand jurors is a grave trespass . . ."***

"[I]ntentional discrimination in the selection of grand jurors is a grave constitutional trespass, possible only under color of state authority and wholly within the power of the State to prevent . . . . Once having found discrimination in the selection of a grand jury, we simply cannot know that the need to indict would have been assessed in the same way by a jury properly constituted."

In a second recent victory for black participation in the jury system *(Batson v. Kentucky)*, the Supreme Court overruled one of its earlier decisions and made it far more difficult for prosecutors in the future to exclude blacks from serving on trial juries. State and federal prosecutors (and defense attorneys as well) have long had the statutory power to strike a designated number of citizens from a trial jury without any explanation whatsoever. The grant of these "peremptory" challenges has widely been thought to provide each side with a fairer trial, by allowing them to remove jurors suspected of prejudice. Prior to the *Batson* decision, however, many prosecutors used this right as a license to strip trial juries of any black members. One recent study of jury selection practices found that Texas prosecutors routinely excluded 9 out of every 10 otherwise eligible black citizens from jury service (see Timms and McGonigle, "Race Bias Pervades Jury Selection," *Dallas Morning News*, March 9, 1986).

> ***One study found that Texas prosecutors routinely excluded 9 out of every 10 eligible blacks from jury service.***

Batson represents an important break with that past. It requires trial courts to investigate defense charges of possible racial bias once there exists a basis for suspecting possible discrimination. Prosecutors must articulate legitimate, nonracial reasons to justify this exclusion of black citizens; mere suspicion that blacks might be more lenient to a black defendant, or similar racial assump-

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John Charles Boger is an assistant counsel with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. LDF is co-counsel for Warren McCleskey and filed amici curiae briefs in *Vasquez* and *Batson*.

Bias in Jury System

(Continued from page 3)

tions, will be insufficient.

A third Supreme Court case, decided in 1986, *Turner v. Murray,* raised a related but converse issue—whether a black defendant charged with interracial homicide is entitled to ask prospective white jurors about any possible racial prejudice they may harbor. The state of Virginia had insisted that absent "special circumstances" the fact that the crime was interracial did not justify such questioning. The Supreme Court disagreed, observing that there is "a unique opportunity for racial prejudice to operate but remain undetected" in capital sentencing proceedings, since the matter at issue—the defendant's guilt or innocence—is not a factual one but the far more subjective and imponderable judgment as to whether the defendant should live or die. The Court held, under such circumstances, that black defendants are entitled to probe for possible prejudice among prospective white jurors.

> ***Having a white victim proves to be as influential in capital cases as whether a defendant had committed a prior murder.***

Each of these recent decisions—*Vasquez, Batson, and Turner*—displays a commendable concern to shape state criminal procedures in such a way as to limit the illegitimate influence of race. In a case argued last October (and likely to be decided by July 1987), *McCleskey v. Kemp,* the Supreme Court must evaluate a strong claim that, despite careful *procedures,* Georgia's capital punishment law has proven racially discriminatory *in its results.* McCleskey's raw figures, drawn from a massive and meticulous study conducted by Professor David Baldus of the University of Iowa (see Baldus, Pulaski, and Woodworth, "Arbitrariness and Discrimination in the Administration of the Death Penalty: A Challenge to the State Supreme Courts" 15 *Stetson Law Review* 133 [1986]) reveal remarkable racial disparities: black and white criminal defendants whose victims are white in Georgia have been nearly *eleven* times more likely to receive death sentences than those whose victims are black; and, among those indicted for killing whites, black defendants receive death sentences three times as often as white defendants. Having a white victim, the McCleskey case showed, proves to be as influential in determining a capital sentence as whether a defendant has committed a prior murder.

These figures reflect old realities. Of the 455 persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1970 in the United States, 405 were black. The state of Georgia executed a total of 366 persons during this period, 298 of whom were black. Georgia has executed seven men since 1973; six have been blacks charged with crimes against whites. McCleskey's challenge nevertheless marks the first time that the Supreme Court has even agreed directly to address the issue of racial discrimination in a state's administration of its capital statutes.

The state of Georgia has defended its capital statutes against McCleskey's charges on narrow technical grounds: (1) that the data produced by McCleskey (gathered from the state's own official files) are not sufficiently accurate; (2) that other, unnamed but ostensibly legitimate factors actually explain what appear to be racial results; (3) that racial disparities, even if proven by McCleskey's evidence, are insufficiently large to violate the Constitution; and (4) that evidence of racial discrimination in the system as a whole does not suffice to show that race played a critical role in McCleskey's own case.

> ***"We know that there's racial discrimination in the death penalty. What do you expect us to do about it?"***

The lower federal court accepted the state's argument; one judge even stated frankly during oral argument, "We know that there's racial discrimination in the death penalty. What do you expect us to do about it?" Several members of the Supreme Court have, in earlier cases, indicated some reluctance to strike down capital statutes, even when racial influences seem apparent. Yet the present body of evidence is overwhelmingly one-sided. It will be difficult for the Supreme Court to dismiss its force without doing grave violation to constitutional proscriptions against racially biased enforcement of the criminal laws.

McCleskey's case has drawn wide support from leading groups in the black community, including the Congressional Black Caucus, the NAACP, and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, each of which has filed briefs in the Supreme Court urging reversal of McCleskey's death sentence. *McCleskey v. Kemp* will represent the most significant test in many years of the Court's willingness to intervene to root out racial discrimination that has actually managed to taint the results of criminal trials. All who have witnessed firsthand the insidious impact of racial prejudice at work in criminal sentencing decisions hope that the Court will act with courage and wisdom. ■

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JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Though political pundits have begun to look ahead to the 1988 presidential election, black voters cannot afford to overlook critical races in 1987 at the state and local level.**
- **Chicago's white Democratic leadership is again ganging up on incumbent Mayor Harold Washington, but polls show that three of five voters think Washington can win.**
- **In an exclusive TrendLetter interview, Jesse Jackson responds to former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan's suggestion that he stay out of the 1988 presidential race.**
- **A "good ole boy" tradition in Virginia excludes two of the state's highest elected officials—Lt. Governor Doug Wilder and Attorney General Mary Sue Terry.**
- **Across the nation, former California Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally becomes the new chair of the Congressional Black Caucus; black elected officials in New York meet to assess their lack of power in state and city politics; and, in Dallas, an appointed city manager takes over as the most powerful official in the city.**

The 1987 Elections are Too Important to Overlook

With the 1986 mid-term elections now squarely behind us, most political observers and the major news media have turned their attention to the presidential campaign of 1988. **But black voters cannot afford to overlook 1987: at stake are gubernatorial and legislative elections in three states with large black populations (Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia) and mayoral elections in 93 cities with black incumbents.** The table below lists the races with black mayoral candidates for cities whose populations are 50,000 or more. In the coming months *TrendLetter* will analyze developments in these races. We begin this month with the Chicago mayoralty.

Black Mayoral Incumbents and Challengers Facing Elections in 1987

Candidate	City +	Primary Date
* **HAROLD WASHINGTON**	Chicago, Ill.	Feb. 24
* **CARL OFFICER**	East St. Louis, Ill.	Feb. 24
CLYDE C. JORDAN		
* **RICHARD HATCHER**	Gary, Ind.	May 5
* **WILSON GOODE**	Philadelphia, Penn.	May 19
* **JAMES A. SHARPE, Jr.**	Flint, Mich.	Aug. 4
* **LAWRENCE CRAWFORD**	Saginaw, Mich.	Aug. 4
* **THIRMAN MILNER**	Hartford, Conn.	Sept. 8
* **RONALD BLACKWOOD**	Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	Sept. 8
** **CLARENCE (DU) BURNS**	Baltimore, Md.	Sept. 15
KURT SCHMOKE		
* **HARVEY GANTT**	Charlotte, N.C.	Sept. 15
GERALD HARVEY	Macon, Ga.	Sept. 15
* **RICHARD ARRINGTON**	Birmingham, Ala.	Oct. 13

All of the above candidates are Democrats.

* Incumbents + Cities with populations of at least 50,000.

** Becomes interim mayor on January 21, 1987, when the current mayor, William Schaefer, becomes governor of Maryland.

All Against One: Chicago's White Democrats Are At It Again

A familiar cast of characters, some clad in new and strange party labels, is lining up in a concerted effort to oppose HAROLD WASHINGTON's reelection as mayor of Chicago in 1987. Despite Washington's stellar credentials as a Democrat (precinct captain, state senator, U.S. congressman, mayor), **his chief opposition in this election, as it has been throughout his mayoral reign, has come from Chicago's white Democratic leadership**....In the February 24 Democratic primary election, Mayor Washington will face former Mayor JANE BYRNE. His other declared opponents are arch foe, Alderman EDWARD VRYDOLYAK, who, though he is head of both the Cook County Democratic Party and the Chicago Democratic Party, is running on the Independent Solidarity Party ticket; Cook County Assessor THOMAS HYNES, a former Democrat running on the newly formed Chicago First Party ticket; Northwestern University professor DONALD HAIDER, a former Democrat now running as a Republican; and other, less-significant candidates....**The reason for this seemingly bizarre party-switching is to encourage white bloc voting in the general election. Thus, if Washington wins the primary, all but one of the others are expected to drop out of the race to ensure that the black incumbent mayor is pitted against a single white candidate.**

The question is: can Harold Washington foil his opponents' plot and use it to his advantage? Some pollsters say he can. **A late December *Chicago Tribune* poll analysis concluded that the three-year battle between Washington and Vrydolyak has solidified the mayor's support among blacks; and that a plurality of white voters blame Vrydolyak more than Washington for the "Council Wars."**...The *Tribune* poll also found that in two-way matchups with the other candidates Washington did very well: **the mayor led his closest challenger, Byrne, by 54 to 38 percent; and the poll found Vrydolyak so controversial among each of the major ethnic voting blocs that he does not appear to be a viable city-wide candidate. In sum, three of five respondents predicted that Washington would win.**

The image of all these candidates out to get Washington may inspire black voters to turn out in larger numbers than in 1983. To make sure that they do so, **Washington has taken two steps. First, he issued Executive Order 86-2, which enables city employees to become deputy registrars and conduct registration on city time.** Washington supporters claim he has 4,000 deputy registrars, and Vrydolyak and the others claim to have 3,000 deputy registrars....**Second, he has issued a friendly challenge to JESSE JACKSON (who has re-established his voting residency in Chicago) to register more voters than he, Washington, registers.** Jackson has taken up the challenge and, each Saturday, he travels to Chicago to register voters after meetings of Operation PUSH, an organization formerly led by Jackson. PUSH is also organizing college students, members of the armed forces, and others in an absentee ballot campaign aimed at 20,000 eligible voters temporarily living outside the city. All black elected officials, ministers, and disc jockeys have been asked to become voter registrars. One Chicago political observer says the registration contest is so fierce that black ministers are preaching from the pulpits that it is "anti-black and anti-religious" not to be registered to vote in the February primary.

So far, polls report that more blacks than whites are likely to vote. In the *Tribune* poll, 20 percent of white voters said they may not vote, and only 37 percent said they will definitely vote; **by comparison, 57 percent of blacks said they will definitely vote**....Still, there is clearly **no smooth sailing ahead for Washington. According to the *Tribune* poll, half of the city's Hispanic voters, an increasingly important voting bloc, had an unfavorable opinion of the mayor; and less than a third of white voters gave Washington a favorable rating.** About three-fourths of all interviewees said that race probably would be a factor in the election, although more than half claimed it would not affect the way they themselves voted....**All other factors being equal though, more than 40 percent conceded that they probably would consider a candidate's race in making their choice for mayor. The strength and unity of the black vote is more than likely to be the key here.**

Run, Jesse, Run? Barbara Jordan Says "No"

As the JCPS/Gallup poll showed (see *TrendLetter*, October 1986), the black rank and file still clearly supports JESSE JACKSON as its favorite for the 1988 presidential race. **A question of enduring interest to the press (and to Jackson), however, is whether black leaders will be more united behind a second Jesse Jackson candidacy for president in 1988 than they were in 1984. Former U.S. Rep. BARBARA JORDAN has issued the first public response**....At a recent meeting of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) in Williamsburg, Va., Jordan, one of only a few blacks invited to attend the meeting, **sent a warning to Jackson not to "frighten everybody off; don't be so volatile that people become afraid to associate with us."** Jordan, now a professor at the University of Texas at Austin, who did not support Jackson when he ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, told *Washington Post* reporter PAUL TAYLOR that **her remarks were intended to encourage**

Jackson to "make a realistic appraisal of what his presence in the [1988] race will do....He will see that it isn't in the best interests of the Democrats for him to get in."

In an exclusive interview with *TrendLetter,* Jackson, who was in Japan at the time of the DLC meeting, said he supported Jordan when she was in public office and continued to feel "some kinship with her attempt to make a difference," **but he also said, "if her concerns were genuine, she could have talked to me privately."...As for the implication that he is frightening people off, Jackson said he was not particularly concerned "since the forces for social justice at home and peace abroad have long been labeled as those who scare or disrupt."** Jackson pointed out that when he, along with Texas Secretary of Agriculture Jim Hightower, had addressed 80,000 family farmers in Austin on July 4th, "they were not frightened." **He added, "The Rainbow Coalition is growing while the architects of the DLC who support Star Wars, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Chief Justice REHNQUIST, the contras...and who are not real enemies of apartheid" scare his constituency....**According to Jackson, it is not the Rainbow Coalition of blacks, other minorities, and women, but the concentration of delegate control and money that is stifling the Democratic Party. **"What is needed," he said, "is not loose rhetorical statements but dialogue among the DLC, the Democratic National Committee and the Rainbow Coalition. It serves no good and useful function to use the platform of either of these groups to attack leaders of the others."**

Chitterlings and "Good Ole Boys:" It's Getting Wilder in Virginia

Lieutenant Governor DOUG WILDER and Attorney General MARY SUE TERRY may have shattered racial and gender barriers in Virginia when they won their respective offices in 1985, **but they still were barred from attending the annual breakfast of the Colon Club, a group of old-line political and economic movers and shakers in the state....**The event, begun in the early 1940s and now a charity affair held at the Commonwealth Club in Richmond, **traditionally has been an all-male, all-white affair noted for its menu of chitterlings and its off-color humor.** In past years, the governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general have been invited, but this year although Governor GERALD BALILES, and former Governors LINWOOD HOLTON and CHARLES ROBB attended the event, Wilder and Terry were not invited....Baliles later told the event's organizers that he believed all three of the state's top officials should have been invited. Robb, who was presented a large photo of Wilder, dodged reporters by ducking out a side door. Summing up the meaning of the event, **SA'AD EL-AMIN, the president of the Crusade for Voters in Richmond, concluded that, "This kind of throwback to the antebellum south should not be tolerated."**

Wilder, a lieutenant governor with unusual prominence, also **landed on the front pages when former Governor Robb went public about a feud between the two men.** Though the spat could have resulted from past personal and political tensions between the two, **their respective ambitions for the future also probably were a factor. Robb is positioning himself as a centrist candidate or "kingmaker" for the Democrats in 1988 and Wilder, who has already scored a series of black political "firsts", has a chance to become the nation's first black governor if he runs and wins in Virginia in 1989.** If this scenario is valid, Robb's image as an opponent of "special interests" may be enhanced by putting some distance between himself and Wilder. On the other hand, **Wilder, who may have to force his way onto the Democratic ticket in 1989** (as he did in 1985), may have intended to show his willingnes to break with his former allies if they stood in his way. **Whatever their respective motivations, the public feuding has fizzled out and the two ex-Marines have announced a truce.**

Pragmatist Becomes New CBC Chair

At a December "retreat," the 23 members of the Congressional Black Caucus elected former California Lieutenant Governor MERVYN DYMALLY as its new chairman. In keeping with the CBC's public posture as a collegial body, **Congressman Dymally (D-Calif.) was elected "by acclamation" even though some members had sought to reelect the former chairman, MICKEY LELAND (D-Tex.) to an unprecedented second two-year term....**Dymally was reportedly drafted by budget committee chairman BILL GRAY (D-Pa.) and Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) who, among others, opposed changing the tradition that the CBC chairman serve just one term....A Trinidad-born, four-term congressman, Dymally represents the racially diverse 31st district whose population is 42 percent white, 34 percent black, 25 percent Hispanic, and 8 percent Asian....**Though Dymally is a liberal with strong sympathies towards Third World and Caribbean nations (he was in tears at a press con-**

ference denouncing the U.S. invasion of Grenada), he is known to be a pragmatist who looks out for his constituents' interests. In 1983, for example, he voted to fund research and testing on the MX missile—which was built by Northrop, the largest employer in his district. In subsequent votes in 1984 and 1985, however, for funding deployment of the missile he rejoined his liberal colleagues to oppose funding the MX. . . . **To cast his vote in 1985, Dymally broke off an interview with the Cuban leader, FIDEL CASTRO, to fly to Washington on a Monday and, after voting, returned to Havana on Thursday to continue interviewing Castro.** The 25 hours of taped interviews (by Dymally and political science professor Jeffrey M. Elliot) are published as *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* (Pathfinder Press, 1986). . . . **Dymally is one of the few members of Congress to have earned a doctorate, which he did in 1978 from the U.S. International University in San Diego.** He has worked on education issues in Congress, especially issues relating to the future of math and science education for minorities. . . . While Dymally was being elevated by his peers, **former CBC chairman CHARLES RANGEL (D-N.Y.) was badly defeated in his attempt to become the Majority Whip, third in line after the Speaker in the leadership of the House of Representatives.** Rangel had campaigned for this post for almost two years but received only 78 votes from his colleagues; the winner was Democratic party "money man," TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), who received 167 votes.

State and Local Black Caucuses Elect New Officers

The newly elected officers of the National Black Caucus of State Legislators are: **Representative DAVID P. RICHARDSON, Jr. (Pennsylvania), President; Representative PATRICIA DAVIS (Alabama), Vice-President; Representative CALVIN SMYRE (Georgia), Secretary; Senator DAVID HOLMES (Michigan), Treasurer; and Representative WILLIE BROWN (New Jersey), Parliamentarian.**

The newly elected officers of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials are: **Councilmember JOHN BARNES (Cleveland, Oh.), President; Councilmember RILLASTINE WILKINS (Muskegon Heights, Mich.), First Vice-President; Councilmember E.B. TURNER (Lumberton, N.C.), Second Vice-President; Alderman STEVEN ROBERTS (St. Louis, Mo.), Third Vice-President; Councilmember DANIEL TABOR (Englewood Calif.), Secretary; Councilmember CAROLYN LONG BANKS (Atlanta, Ga.), Treasurer; Councilmember NADINE WINTER (D.C.), Assistant Secretary; Councilmember DHARATHULA MILLENDER (Gary, Ind.), Historian.**

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: JOE DICKSON, general manager of a realty company, **was the first black named to the Republican administration of Gov. GUY HUNT.** Dickson, a Republican, said he hopes more blacks will flock to the GOP, which he believes "has always done more toward achieving real progress for blacks in America." Hunt, who attended the Alabama Conference of Black Mayors in mid-December, has received promises of support from the group.

CALIFORNIA: CHARLIE BYRD has been elected **the first black sheriff in California.** Byrd, who had been chief of police in Weed, became sheriff of Siskiyou County (in northern California) whose population is 42,800. The 1980 census showed that only 1.6 percent of its residents were black; and according to Byrd "race was never a factor" in his contest against a white sheriff's captain.

MISSISSIPPI: In October, *TrendLetter* reported that JOHNNY THOMAS won a special election to become the first black on the Tallachatie County Board of Supervisors. **Thomas's election, however, was later challenged in court by his white opponent, RAY HARDY, who argued that some of his votes from Tippo (one of three towns in the county) had been illegally deleted from the total count.** The court ruled that the votes from Tippo should be counted, and they provided Hardy a victory of 567 votes to Thomas's 443.

NEW YORK: Black political powerlessness in New York state was the main issue at a day-long convention in Brooklyn in late November. The convention was attended by over 200 black elected officials, community activists, and other interested persons. One of the speakers, Assemblyman ARTHUR EVE (D) of Buffalo, said no other city in America has "so many seats held by non-African-Americans in districts which should be held by them." His point is supported by the numbers: **Blacks are 13.1 percent of New York's voting-age population, but hold only one percent of the state's elected offices.** This is a lower ratio than that of most other states, including Mississippi, Louisiana, Illinois, and Michigan. However, one of the convention's organizers, Dr. VERNAL CAVE, former chairman of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, **told the convention that blacks could no longer simply blame racism for their lack of political influence in New York. "The primary reason for the lack of black political power in the city," he said "[is] the failure of blacks to work together."** An additional sad fact of black political life in New York is that of the 20 states with highest black proportions of the electorate, **New York ranked last in terms of reported black voter registration and turnout in 1984.**

OHIO: RICHARD CLAY DIXON, the only black commissioner for the city of Dayton, has been appointed mayor after the former mayor announced that he would leave his office to accept an appointment as lieutenant governor. **Dixon, who had served seven years on the Dayton Commission, was the top vote-getter in his last run for that seat. He will remain in the position of mayor for three years, which is the remainder of the former mayor's term.** Dixon is Dayton's second black mayor.

TEXAS: Assistant City Manager **RICHARD KNIGHT, Jr., became the surprise choice of the city council for the position of city manager of Dallas, a position which makes him by far the most powerful official in the city under Dallas's "weak mayor" system of government.** Knight takes over at a time when the city faces a growing demand for social services as homelessness and other problems grow in Texas, and when black leaders are criticizing the police department, over which he presides, for a recent series of killings of innocent people by police officers. **Knight, a nuts and bolts style administrator, is one of only 17 black city managers in the nation.**

New Law Sets DOD Contracting Goal

Minority Firms and Colleges to Get 5 Percent of All Awards

by Edwin Dorn

A new law enacted by Congress and signed by President Reagan on November 14, 1986, requires the Defense Department (DOD) to award 5 percent of its contracts to minority businesses and colleges over the next three years (see box on page 8 for details of the new law). The 5 percent goal for DOD contracts represents a major breakthrough for set-aside advocates, like the bill's sponsors, Representatives John Conyers (D-Mich.) and Gus Savage (D-Ill.), who estimate that up to $32 billion could be made available to minority businesses and colleges.

And the new law is a final, satisfying victory for the just-retired Congressman Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), a long-time supporter of minority business development and the past chair of the Small Business Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives. In the debate on this bill, Mitchell told his colleagues: "When I first started this business, minorities were receiving less than one-tenth of 1 percent of all government contracts. Now we have moved generally across the board to almost 4 percent. That does not sound like much but it is a steady increase." Mitchell also characterized the bill as "a commitment on the part of . . . the Congress to move [minorities] into the economic mainstream of this country."

Despite these commendable goals, there is considerable doubt among the experts that DOD will be able to fully achieve the goal it is now required to pursue. However, even if a lesser sum—say, $15-20 billion over the next three years—goes to minorities, it will be a significant boost that is sorely needed.

Capacity of Minority Firms

To meet the 5 percent goal DOD would have to more than double its current minority contracting, which amounted to $3.8 billion or 2.1 percent of all contracts in fiscal year 1985. This will not be easy for DOD, which, according to preliminary estimates, has awarded only $4.1 billion in contracts to minorities in FY 1986—far short of its self-imposed goal of $8.1 billion.

DOD experts insist that the problems in meeting minority contracting goals have at least as much to do with a lack of available minority firms as with a lack of demand from DOD. There is some merit to this contention. For instance, a 5 percent set-aside would mean an annual increase in minority business of about $11 billion—which is almost 25 percent of the total of business receipts of minority firms ($45 billion in 1982, according to the U.S. Census Bureau).

DOD also points out that their procurement procedures and technical requirements (even for routine products such as uniforms) are so daunting that few small businesses can meet them.

Moreover, few small businesses produce what the Defense Department buys. Most black-owned businesses, for example, are very, very small: a 1982 Census Bureau survey identified only 136 black-owned firms employing more than 100 people. Further, few black-owned businesses are in manufacturing, research and development, heavy construction, or high-tech products and services; but the lion's share of DOD contracts are in these areas.

However, one virtue of the contracting goal is that it may affect supply by encouraging more minority firms to start matching their products and services to DOD's needs. The law's technical assistance and advance payment provisions (see p. 8) may be particularly helpful in this regard. On the other hand, neither this law nor any other federal policy forcefully addresses the major problem confronting socially and economically disadvantaged individuals: the lack of the capital needed to start up a business.

Another obstacle to a larger minority contracting role is that a large proportion of the defense work done by small businesses comes through subcontracts with huge prime contractors. Some black entrepreneurs have complained that the prime contractors remain reluctant to deal with minority firms. The new law does not address this problem directly.

Program Implementation

Four issues are likely to provoke controversy during the program implementation process. One is whether the Defense Department will establish its own staff to provide technical assistance (see p. 8) to prospective minority contractors. If it does not, it must secure these services from outside firms.

Another issue concerns the law's requirement that DOD must collect data on the specific ethnic/racial identity of its minority contractors. This will require a major change in DOD's data acquisition practices. Some observers also worry that the information will spark politically divisive competition among the various groups seeking to benefit from the contracting goal.

(Continued on page 8)

Dr. Dorn is deputy director for special programs at JCPS.

The King Within Us All

"Charismatic" Label Obscures His True Role and Legacy

by Clayborne Carson

Dr. Martin Luther King has often been described as a charismatic leader, but the label does not adequately define his role in the civil rights movement.* Arguing that King was not a charismatic leader is somewhat akin to arguing that he was not a Christian, but emphasis on King's charisma obscures other important aspects of his role in the civil rights movement and conveys the misleading notion of a movement held together by spellbinding oratory and blind faith. Although, to be sure, many people saw King as a divinely-inspired leader, King did not always receive—and, I would argue, did not want—the kind of unquestioning support that is often associated with charismatic leaders. Movement activists instead saw him as the most prominent among many outstanding movement strategists, tacticians, ideologues, and institutional leaders.

King's True Role

King was certainly not the only significant leader of the civil rights movement, for sustained protest movements arose in many southern communities in which King had little or no direct involvement. If not as dominant a figure as he is sometimes portrayed, he was also a more complex and, I would add, more interesting, leader who acquired the respect and support of self-confident, grassroots leaders, some of whom possessed charismatic qualities of their own. In Montgomery, for example, local black leaders such as E.D. Nixon, Rosa Parks, and Jo Ann Robinson started the bus boycott before King became the leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Similarly, the black students who initiated the lunch-counter sit-in movement in 1960 admired King, but they did not wait for him to act before launching their own movement. King influenced the struggles that took place in the Black Belt regions of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, but the struggles were guided by self-reliant local leaders who occasionally called upon King's oratorical skills to galvanize black protesters at mass meetings but who refused to become dependent upon his presence.

If King had never lived, the black struggle would have followed a course of development similar to the one it did. The Montgomery bus boycott would have occurred, because King did not initiate it. Black students probably would have rebelled even without King as a role model, for they had sources of tactical and ideological inspiration besides King. Mass activism in southern cities and voting rights efforts in the Deep South were outgrowths of large scale social and political forces rather than simply consequences of the actions of a single leader. Though perhaps not as quickly and certainly not as peacefully or with as much universal significance, the civil rights movement probably also would have achieved its major legislative victories without King's leadership, for the southern Jim Crow system was an anachronism, and forces that undermined it were inexorable. Directing attention to the other leaders who initiated and emerged from these struggles should not detract from our conception of King's singularly important contribution to the black struggle. Instead, it should enhance our regard for King as a leader who stood out in a forest of tall trees.

> ***If King had never lived, the black struggle would have followed a course of development similar to the one it did.***

Source of Ideas

The black movement required far more than charismatic leaders for its success, and King's importance in the movement was based on his ability to supply more than charisma. King's major public speeches have received much attention, but his greatness was also displayed in countless strategy sessions with other activists and in private meetings with government officials. Although King's success as a leader was partly based on the power of his oratory, it was also based on his skills as a conciliator and his effectiveness as a moderating force in a movement often torn by internal conflicts. King's unique qualities were best displayed through his relations with movement activists who were not simply Martin Luther King's followers and lieutenants; they were self-motivated individuals who acquired increasing confidence in their own abilities. Rather than merely accepting guidance from above, movement activists of the 1960s made a profound, though often ignored, contribution in the realm of political ideas.

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* Although the term civil rights movement is used in this article the term I prefer is "southern freedom struggle" or "black freedom struggle," for the reasons explained in my article "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle," in Charles W. Eagles, Editor, *The Civil Rights Movement in America* (University Press of Mississippi, 1986).

Dr. Clayborne Carson is the director of the Martin Luther King Papers Project sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, in association with Stanford University. The Stanford University historian aims to collect all of Dr. King's writings and public statements; 12 volumes are projected to be published over the next two decades. This article is a revised version of a longer paper originally prepared for a conference on *"Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Leader and the Legacy."*

My assessment of King's role in the black movement is one that encourages us to recognize our present-day responsibility to struggle for a more just and peaceful world.

King may have been born with rare potential, but his most significant leadership attributes were related to his immersion in and contribution to the intellectual ferment that has always been an essential part of Afro-American freedom struggles. Those who have written about King have too often assumed that his most important ideas were derived from outside the black struggle—from his academic training, his philosophical readings, or his acquaintance with Gandhian ideas. Scholars are only beginning to recognize the extent to which his attitudes and those of many other activists, white as well as black, were transformed through their involvement in a movement in which ideas emanated from the bottom up as well as from the top down.

King's Epitaph

Though charisma is a wonderful quality that many of us wish we had, it is also a quality that decisively separates those who are said to have it from the rest of us. Idolizing King lessens our feeling of responsibility to exhibit at least some of his best attributes. When King suggested his own epitaph, he asked not to be remembered for his exceptional achievements—his Nobel Prize and other awards, or his academic accomplishments; instead, he wanted to be remembered for giving his life to serve others, for trying to be right on the war question, for trying to feed the hungry and clothe those who were naked, for trying to love and serve humanity. These aspects of King's life did not require charisma or other exceptional kinds of abilities. We all have the ability to try to commit ourselves to advancing the causes of social justice and peace.

Thus, my assessment of King's role in the civil rights movement is one that encourages us to recognize our present-day responsibility to struggle for a more just and peaceful world. The movement prompted the passage of major civil rights legislation, but, more importantly, it prompted a major transformation of values and attitudes. Although black struggles of the 1950s and 1960s should be remembered as a setting for King's tremendous achievements, they should be remembered most of all as a setting that brought out the best in many of us. Rather than asking God why He has not sent us another leader like Martin Luther King, Jr., we might ask ourselves why we have not created new social movements in which other people with potential for greatness could exercise their talents to the fullest.

Charismatic leadership on the part of King and others was only one of the resources that made possible the black gains of the 1950s and 1960s, and it remains only one of the resources required for future struggles. The declining effectiveness of King's charisma at the end of his life contrasted sharply with the growth of black material and human resources during the period. Today, we have far more financial, institutional, and leadership resources in black communities than we did in 1955. Afro-Americans today do not lack resources, for we are the richest assemblage of black people on earth, but we do lack a common understanding of collective purposes for which these resources should be mobilized.

Unpopular Social Critic

If King were with us today, he could make good use of these resources, but much more than charisma would be required to put them at his disposal. If he were to return, many of those who now celebrate King's birth would discover that his oratory would be unsettling and intellectually challenging rather than innocuous and readily accepted. It is likely that he would be the unpopular social critic he was on the eve of the Poor People's campaign rather than the approved national hero he became after his death. His basic message would be the same as it was when he was alive, for he did not bend with the changing political winds. He would talk of ending poverty and war and of building a just social order that would avoid the pitfalls of competitive capitalism and repressive communism.

Waiting for the Messiah is a human weakness that is unlikely to be satisfied more than once in a millennium.

We mourn the loss of such a courageous advocate of peace and justice, but we can expect that struggles for human advancement will continue to arise and that other great leaders will emerge from these struggles. When the residents of Montgomery initiated their bus boycott, they could not have expected that their movement would give the world a great leader. Waiting for the Messiah is a human weakness that is unlikely to be satisfied more than once in a millennium. The legacy of the black struggle offers us the better alternative of looking within and around us to discover those god-like, King-like qualities that represent our best attributes. We honor King best by remembering that his greatness was most clearly displayed when other participants in the black movement displayed their best qualities and by recognizing that aspects of his greatness survive in ourselves and those around us. ■

Minority Firms to Get 5 Percent of All Awards

(Continued from page 5)

A third is the requirement that DOD assess the impact of the minority contracts on non-minority small businesses. The results could provoke the kinds of legal and political battles that already bedevil other minority contracting programs.

> ***Sponsors of the DOD set-aside . . . see this law as creating enormous benefits for minorities.***

The fourth issue is the ongoing congressional oversight of DOD's ability to attain the 5 percent goal. Though the law provides a potential escape hatch through the vaguely stated exemption for "compelling national security" reasons (see box on this page), the more relevant guidelines were set out by Congressman Savage, a sponsor of the bill, who said, "When you talk about a goal you are not talking about what you must do. The amendment is very specific, as it is an appeal, indicating that what is required is a good faith attempt. . . . [It] sets forth some [conditions], like technical assistance, like advance payments, to facilitate a maximum good faith effort."

The key issue in congressional oversight is thus likely to be whether DOD has met its goal or shown the necessary "maximum good faith effort."

Advocates Have High Hopes

The *sponsors of the DOD set-aside*, by far the largest set-aside program enacted by Congress, *see this law as creating enormous benefits for minorities.* Representative Savage, for instance, asserts that "it will create a minimum of a quarter of a million jobs, directly, over the next five years." Representative Conyers has similarly stated his optimistic belief that "a 5 percent set-aside understates the true potential of minority businesses and historically black colleges to assist our nation in meeting its defense needs." However, given the scope of the problems outlined above, perhaps the last word on this subject should go to the widely acknowledged dean of minority business development, former Congressman Parren Mitchell, who suggested the following rationale for supporting the high set-aside goal:

"How did we achieve the growth from one-tenth of 1 percent to almost 4 percent? We did it by setting goals that were high and by incrementally moving towards those goals. . . . I simply respectfully suggest that the way to finally get to that full economic participation is by setting goals that are high goals and moving toward them." ■

New DOD Set-Aside Law

The National Defense Authorization Act for 1987 (Public Law 99-661) requires the Department of Defense to set a goal of giving 5 percent of its contracts to (a) "small business concerns, including mass-media, owned and controlled by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals," (b) "historically black colleges and universities," and (c) other colleges with a predominantly minority enrollment (i.e. those covered by the Minority Science Improvement Program). The goal of 5 percent—which differs from the 10 percent requirement of the Surface Transportation Act and the Public Works Employment Act—was a compromise to ensure that the bill would be acceptable to the Republican-controlled Senate.

The law also requires DOD to report to Congress bi-annually on DOD's efforts to meet the goal.

The law gives DOD a clear legal mandate to provide technical assistance, including advice about procurement procedures and instruction in the preparation of proposals. It also authorizes advance payments to contractors, a provision which will be especially helpful to firms that are short of operating capital.

The law also provides that the 5 percent goal need not be met if the Secretary of Defense notifies Congress "that compelling national security considerations require otherwise."

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FOCUS

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Risk of AIDS is Spreading

Disease Control Tied to Behavior Changes

'86 Tax Reform May Hurt Minority Firms

Changes Still Possible

A Prescription For Better Health Care

Education Helps, As Does More Doctors

Political TrendLetter

Baltimore Mayoral Race; Education Budget Proposals; "Mega-Tuesday"; Talks with Japanese; Across the Nation

Perspective

What If Martin Luther King Were Alive Today?

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PERSPECTIVE

What If Martin Luther King Were Alive Today?

The coupling of Martin Luther King's official birthday in January and Black History Month in February should encourage us to begin every year with the right blend of inspiration and historical insight. For me, the chance to do so came when I addressed the congregation at the annual Martin Luther King memorial service of the Church of the Redeemer in Washington, D.C. The theme I chose, which was suggested by Dr. Clayborne Carson's article in last month's *Focus*, was what Dr. King would say if he were alive today.

I think Dr. King would make more Americans aware of the link between social justice and national survival. He tried to do that in the sixties when he warned that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" and that "we are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny." His warning still rings true today. The difference, though, is that the issue today is not only justice but economic progress for the nation as a whole. Since so many people understand money better than they do morality, perhaps they would listen to Dr. King today.

Dr. King would indict the continuing racism in America, but he would also challenge our policymakers to squarely confront the phenomenon of structural discrimination. This happens when you can't get a good job because you don't have a good education because you lived in a poor neighborhood because your family didn't earn enough money to do any better.

Just as he once dreamed of blacks and whites sitting down together at the table of brotherhood, Dr. King's call today would be for blacks and whites to sit down together at the table where public policies are made. He would be quick to point out that the prospects for reaching consensus on some major policy issues are much improved today. He might cite, for example, the results of the Joint Center/Gallup survey which shows that the views of blacks and whites have become remarkably similar on several crucial issues. (See the October *Focus* for the survey findings.) Noting the convergence on the issues, King would challenge the entire nation—blacks and whites, the public sector and the private sector—to sit down together and develop an agenda for the common good.

Dr. King would also no doubt challenge us "to rise to the level of self-criticism," a message that may cause some of us to say, "Wait a minute, Doc, you've stopped preaching and gone to meddling." What would we say if he asked if it isn't hypocritical for us to advocate national programs for black businesses and for the survival of black colleges and yet fail to ourselves support these enterprises? Mightn't he point out that it is odd for us to indict white folks for perpetuating poor education for our children, when in fact black officials are increasingly in charge of the urban school systems where most of our children go to school?

Dr. King would admonish us that we must confront these challenges ourselves, even as we demand that the government and business sectors produce enough jobs so we can sustain ourselves economically and maintain our human dignity.

Yes, Dr. King would have a lot to say to black and white Americans. . . . But, Dr. King is not here. He's not coming back. There's just you and me. I guess it's up to us. Let us go on with the struggle. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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A Prescription For Better Health Care

Education Helps, As Does More Doctors

by Curtis Patton

Popular wisdom holds that the poor get sick and the sick get poorer and that health is a factor of wealth. This view finds support in the tragic gap in health status so very apparent between black and white America. (See box for details.) Poverty, it is true, plagues our community, but I don't see any national outcry in our favor on the issue of sharing the wealth.

The good news is that in spite of everything we still live and contribute in countless ways to the health and vitality of our nation. All is not gloomy and, in spite of enormous stress, some of us are healthy and strong and live so long that we are a mystery to public health workers. In fact, some of us with good standards of public health and medical care may find it hard to realize the impact of disease in our community.

Certainly, we need more information about health problems and risk factors confronted by blacks; we need to reduce both. We also need to examine very carefully those positive factors in our communities associated with good health. Those communities and families with low personal incomes where we see low child mortality and high life expectancy ought to provide interesting models. We must examine how some of us, indeed most of us, probably, have broken the connection between wealth and health.

Importance of Education

Health experts have observed the importance of education and literacy in successful health programs in societies (e.g., Sri Lanka, the state of Kerala in India, Peoples Republic of China, Costa Rica) with low personal incomes. The mere fact of going to school and getting an education may be more important than what is taught about health or other subjects. The explanation is that education brings with it a new culture and awareness: the educated are more aggressive towards health and governmental bureaucracies, they insist that doctors and nurses give their children the best medical care, and they influence society to focus

(Continued on page 4)

Selected Statistics on the Health Status of Blacks

Life expectancy: At the turn of the century, life expectancy at birth for whites was 47 years, but only 33 years for blacks. By the 1980s, improvements in sanitation, control of infectious diseases, and better nutrition and education had pushed longevity to greater than 71 years for white males and 78 years for white females. For blacks, however, life expectancy is still at the level it was for whites in the 1950s: 64 years for black males and 74 years for black females.

Infant Mortality. In 1960, the infant mortality rate for whites was 22.9 deaths for every 1000 births; for blacks, it was 44.3 deaths for every 1000 births. In the 1980s, the infant mortality rate is lower, but still twice as high for blacks: 10.5 for whites and 20.0 for blacks. The rate for blacks matches the rate of 20 years ago for whites, and is among the highest in Western nations.

Excess Deaths. The term is defined as the difference between actual deaths and expected deaths, if the black population had the same age- and sex-specific death rates as the white population. In August 1985, a task force of the Department of Health and Human Services estimated that excess deaths for blacks were almost 60,000 per year. Heart disease and stroke, homicides and accidents, cancer, infant mortality, cirrhosis (chemical dependency), and diabetes account for more than 80 percent of the excess deaths in the black community. Excess deaths account for 47 percent of the total annual deaths of those 45 and under, and 42 percent of those under 70.

Dr. Patton teaches at the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health, Yale University School of Medicine. This article is adapted from a speech Dr. Patton made on October 1, 1986, to the Health Braintrust of the Congressional Black Caucus. The text of the speech is copyrighted by the American Lung Association.

Better Health Care

(Continued from page 3)

on the future of children. Education, it seems, gives people a sense of self-control and self-reliance on health matters that is difficult to reverse even under the most stressful conditions.

In the South, where 53 percent of the black population lives, only 3 percent of the doctors are black.

One of the best illustrations of this point is the work of my colleague, Dr. James Comer, a professor of psychiatry at Yale. Dr. Comer's objective was to raise the academic achievement of black students in two public schools in a poor New Haven community, but along with the dramatic scholastic successes came self-discovery, newfound talents, and increased self-respect for the students and their families—and improvement in the overall health status of the community.

More Doctors Needed

Even more basic than education, however, is the need for more doctors and doctors who are better informed about the health risks blacks face.

Black communities throughout the nation are woefully underserved by the health care profession. In 1984, only 5 percent of U.S. medical school graduates were black—and the numbers have declined since then. In the South, where 53 percent of the black population lives, only 3 percent of the doctors are black. In academia and research, the underrepresentation of blacks is just as startling: only 2.7 percent of the nation's 31,000 medical school faculty are black, and six university teaching hospitals have no black physicians on their house staffs.

Perhaps because of the shortage of black doctors, black people are not well informed on some key health issues. Studies indicate that blacks appear to underestimate the prevalence of cancer, seem not to know or believe the warning signs, get fewer screening tests, and are diagnosed at later stages of the disease than whites. In one study in New York, only 9 percent of those doctors who have black patients were found to recommend or do screening for cancer of the breast, cervix, prostate, etc. Many professionals and lay people, black and white, seem not to know that heart disease is as common in black men as in white men and that black women die from heart disease at higher rates than white women. Clearly, our community is not being well served, and we must muster the necessary community will to ensure better access to basic health care.

Monitoring Progress

Finally, I believe we need an organization (which is more than simply a task force) to generate and collect data and draw appropriate inferences, to deliberate on and develop thoughtful and sound approaches to reducing health risk factors, to work with community groups, and to monitor the impact of public policy on the health status of blacks. Besides measuring our progress, such an organization could steer policy-makers away from fearful solutions such as the proposals to confine AIDS victims and presumed carriers of the AIDS virus, to examine citizens generally for evidence that they have taken illegal drugs, and to punish in sundry ways those who become pregnant against their own or societal wishes.

Taking Charge

Some of mankind's most fantastic dreams have gained consistency and become real in this century. New perspectives have made us bold and willing to approach goals that not too long ago appeared only imaginary. Medicine is among the great beneficiaries of 20th century advancement. Yet, it is still a legitimate question to try to understand why, in spite of unprecedented explosions in scientific knowledge, in spite of spectacular achievements in medicine and technology, in spite of extraordinary capacity to exquisitely diagnose, treat, and control if not cure so very many diseases, black people have not benefited from these advances.

Education gives people a sense of self-control and self-reliance on health matters that is difficult to reverse...

As we approach this task, we may find it less useful to blame and suspect sinister conspiracies than to ask what is working well for the good of our people and our communities. Where we find things working well, we should proceed with great vigor; where intelligence suggests action, we should take action joyfully; and, where questions are not clearly formed and approaches seem faulty, we should be brave and take some calculated risks. We should examine and re-examine problems until they make more and more sense, leading us to turn to new solutions rather than to rehash failed strategies. To borrow the words of Sherlock Holmes, "There should be no combination of events for which the wit of mankind cannot conceive an explanation." ■

February 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Baltimore's majority-black population may split it's vote between two black candidates, thereby helping to elect the third major candidate—a former Carter administration housing expert.**

- **Education Secretary William Bennett's call for a 28 percent cut in education spending is not popular with the Democratic-controlled 100th Congress.**

- **Jesse Jackson's presidential prospects may be aided by "Mega-Tuesday"—when 13 southern states will hold their primary on the same day.**

- **A coalition of prominent black civil rights and business leaders has called for negotiations with Prime Minister Nakasone to increase Japanese support for black businesses, colleges, and communities.**

- **Across the nation: a tight primary race has developed between Chicago Mayor Harold Washington and challenger Jane Byrne; Louisiana elects three black "firsts," two mayors and a chief of police; the NAACP puts pressure on North Carolina to replace its at-large elections; and *TL* offers a Black History Month tribute to a political family from Rankin, Pa.**

Taking Sides in the Baltimore Mayoral Race

The two leading black candidates in the mayoral race in Baltimore, Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS and State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE, are as different as East and West—that is, the low-income East Baltimore and the upscale West Baltimore. **The sharp differences in their ages, educational backgrounds, and political allegiances may lead black Baltimoreans (55 percent of the city's population) to split their votes between the two**—as the East side and the West side have done in prior elections involving two black candidates—**and the result could be to enhance the chances of the other major candidate, ROBERT EMBRY,** a housing expert who was assistant secretary of HUD in the Carter administration and served as director of Housing in Baltimore.... Burns, 68, is a high school graduate who worked for 22 years in the locker room of Dunbar High School, and rose to his current post after many years as former Mayor DONALD SCHAEFER'S most dependable political operative. While Burns' political base, and his home, is in East Baltimore, Schmoke, 37, is a former college quarterback, Rhodes Scholar, and Harvard trained lawyer who served on President Carter's White House Domestic Policy Council. He is expected to do well among West Baltimore's upscale black community, younger white professionals, and liberal political activists who supported Attorney General STEVEN SACHS in the gubernatorial race last year.... **Burns became Baltimore's first black mayor on January 21st through automatic elevation from his prior position as city council president, when he succeeded Mayor Schaefer,** who was sworn in as governor of Maryland. Burns had served on the city council since 1971 and became well-known for delivering city services to his constituents. **In his first test as the new mayor, Burns gained high praise for managing the city's response to the massive snowstorm that struck the East Coast in late January....**Seeking to be more than an interim mayor, **Burns, like many first-time black mayoral candidates, is promising to keep Baltimore "one city" and to "be a mayor for all the people." What will he do for the city's low-income and minority populations? In a virtually unique stance for a first-time black mayor, Burns is promising that his city will not change. Instead, he has promised to carry on the Schaefer tradition and told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter he is not insulted by talk that he is "in Schaefer's hip-pocket" because, "it's a good place to be."... Despite Burns' declaration of loyalty, Schaefer has yet to announce whether he will endorse Burns or Embry, who is also a long-time Schaefer ally.** Schmoke cannot expect Schaefer's nod: he has

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never been part of Schaefer's ole boy network and supported his gubernatorial primary opponent last year. But both Embry and Burns are close to Governor Schaefer. **Most observers believe Schaefer will remain officially neutral but will actively support Embry. Indeed, some speculate that Schaefer is encouraging Embry to run since he fears that Burns cannot defeat Schmoke in a one-on-one race.** These analysts note that Embry's braintrust is made up of the same large developers and fundraisers who backed Schaefer in his race for governor. For Schaefer, whose first love is Baltimore and who may have to take on a somewhat hostile legislature, this is a win-win situation: Put his white pal in the mayor's seat and keep his black pal as chairman of the city council.

Bennett's Budget Blasted by Congress and Mayors

Secretary of Education WILLIAM J. BENNETT had the unenviable task of telling the Democratic-controlled 100th Congress that his FY 1988 budget would call for cuts in education spending —by $5.5 billion, or 28 percent less than the appropriation for the previous year. In testimony to the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, now headed by liberal Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Bennett called it "a tough, lean budget." He said, "it is...a responsible budget in terms of what the Treasury can afford, and a responsible budget for American education..." **But he found no support,** even among Republicans like Senator PETE DOMENICI (N.M.) who said, "You can't be serious about this budget."... **The largest chunk of the proposed spending cuts—$3.7 billion—would come from college-level student aid programs.** Bennett favors shifting student aid from grants to loans; in his view, students are the primary beneficiaries of higher education and, thus, should bear the primary burden of financing their schooling. Several senators disagreed with this view by noting their perception that American society benefited from having an educated citizenry; thus, they said, the federal government should be willing to bear a greater share of education costs.... **The irony of Bennett's scaled-down budget request is that President REAGAN has singled out education as the central pillar of his strategy to improve America's competitiveness in the world economy. The Reagan plan—"a quest for excellence"—however, envisions that funds for this effort will come from state, local, and family resources—not the federal government. Despite the administration's view, Congress is sure to increase education funding this session.** As Senator ROBERT STAFFORD (R-Vt.) publicly assured two representatives of teacher unions, "The money will be there."

Meanwhile, Bennett's undersecretary of education, GARY L. BAUER—who has since moved to the White House as a domestic policy advisor—was fighting battles of his own at the U.S. Conference of Mayors. For example, when Hartford, Conn., Mayor THIRMAN L. MILNER (who is black) suggested that the administration should cut the defense budget rather than cutting $100 million from appropriations for drug-abuse education programs, Bauer shocked not only Milner but other big-city mayors by telling them "don't sit in your cities and tell us what our budget should be," and by accusing Milner of "Pentagon-bashing." **All in all, however, the U.S. Conference of Mayor's meeting in January was one of the least pessimistic since Reagan was elected in 1980. It might even be described as "upbeat." The reasons are simple: The mayors know that all of the president's prior budget proposals have been fundamentally revised by Congress and that key members of Congress have already labelled this one as "totally unrealistic" and "dead on arrival."** The conditions for substantial revision are very good since Democrats control both houses of Congress, Reagan is severely weakened politically as a result of the Irangate-Contra debacle, and it is less than two years away from the next presidential election. In short, Congress is left to write its own proposal.... One can be sure that the Democrats will seek to pass a budget which serves their immediate political interests. Such a budget is likely to be far more kind to the cities than any prior budget in the Reagan era.

"Mega-Tuesday '88": Primary Schedule May Benefit Jesse Jackson

To no avail in 1984, JESSE JACKSON complained that the Democratic Party's rules unfairly denied him his fair share of delegates to the nominating convention. The Fairness Commission that was created to hear his claims did recommend some changes but not the ones Jackson sought: the caucus system will not be abolished, the number of "superdelegates" (unpledged party and elected officials) has been increased by 75, the threshold of eligibility for delegates was cut to 15 percent of the vote—not eliminated, and there will not be an "assured percentage" (affirmative action) of minority delegates. **Though he was rebuffed on the rules changes, Jackson could be the big beneficiary of another key change in the 1988 primaries: the scheduling of primaries in 13 states, all in the South, on a single day—March 8. At stake are 2,097 delegates—more than half the total of 4,158.**

The good news for Jackson is that he fared well in most of the "Mega-Tuesday" states in 1984: he won 43 percent of the vote in Louisiana, 26 percent of the vote in Maryland, 25 percent of the vote in both Tennessee and North Carolina, 21 percent of the vote in Georgia, 20 percent of the vote in Alabama, and 12 percent of the vote in Florida. In the remaining states, which held caucuses in 1984, Jackson won 27 percent of the vote in Mississippi, 26 percent in Virginia, 19 percent in Kentucky, 18 percent in Missouri, 17 percent in Texas, but only 4 percent in Oklahoma. In general, it is easy to see that Jackson's overall vote percentages in these states roughly followed the proportionate size of the black electorates of these states.

Thus, it appears that a rainbow candidate has much to gain and little to lose by the frontloading of primaries on Mega-Tuesday. Some qualifications, however, must be noted. If many candidates are in the race and the vote is heavily split, Jackson could run exceptionally well in these primaries even if he got no more of the vote than he did in 1984. However, if the field of Democratic candidates shrinks after the earlier Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary, Jackson's seeming advantage would be reduced as he goes head-to-head against one or two rivals.

In sum, the Mega-Tuesday primaries will probably not make Jackson a frontrunner but they do improve his chances to have stronger influence at the Democratic convention by providing him more delegate strength earlier in the game. **If Jackson wins big on March 8, the result will be greater coverage in the media, greater credibility for his candidacy, and the potential for a snowball effect as he goes into the next round of primaries in the midwest.**

Racial Insult Spurs A Yen For Talks With Japanese

In late September 1986 Japanese Prime Minister YASUHIRO NAKASONE insulted blacks and other minorities in a statement before his Liberal Democratic Party. Nakasone said, "Japan is now a highly educated and fairly intelligent society. Much more so than America, on the average. In America, there are quite a few black people, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans. On the average, it is still very low." **Although Nakasone's slur should have offended all Americans, the Reagan administration and most other government officials had "no comment." Blacks and other minorities, however, were outraged. After criticisms by numerous black leaders, Nakasone apologized for his racist remarks.**

That, however, may not end the matter. A full-page ad carried a message from more than 45 prominent black Americans denouncing Nakasone's portrayal of blacks and calling for "reciprocity" from Japanese business. One of the leaders of the ad-hoc coalition is Rev. JOSEPH LOWERY, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In an interview with ***TrendLetter*****, Lowery said that the movement for economic reciprocity is part of the SCLC's planned Poor People's Crusade. Noting that poverty is international, Lowery added that "foreign investment has contributed to divestment in this country, resulting in the movement of jobs abroad and unemployment, underemployment, and poverty at home.** Thus, the focus of the Poor People's Crusade must be both domestic and international."

The economic leverage of black consumers—who spend over $7 billion annually on Japanese goods—could be considerable. According to *Black Enterprise*, blacks consume about 10 percent of the Japanese-made appliances (e.g., TVs, cameras, VCRs, microwaves, stereos) that are sold in the U.S.; and, during the last 10 years, bought an estimated 650,000 to 1.2 million Japanese cars. Yet, few benefits have flowed to blacks: for example, no blacks have been given automobile dealerships for Japanese cars.

According to Rev. Lowery, SCLC and other members of the Japanese protest coalition have called for a "real discussion about equitable reinvestment" with Japanese leaders. Lowery said that SCLC is researching the best way to produce a favorable response through negotiation with Japanese leaders. **The goal of the negotiation will be to secure more Japanese investment in black institutions, in black business enterprises, and in the black community in general. If negotiation does not produce a favorable change, confrontation will be the next step.** Lowery concluded that confrontation would take a variety of forms: pray-ins and sit-ins against Japanese products, disassembling Japanese autos in public squares, boycotting Japanese products, etc. Lowery and the coalition are awaiting a response from the Japanese.

Borough Dynasty: The Prices of Rankin, Pa.

As a special tribute this Black History Month, **TrendLetter offers a salute to the members of a remarkable family who rose from humble beginnings to devote their lives to "the needs of others." This family has maintained a 42-year-old tradition of having one of its members elected to the council from the western Pennsylvania borough of Rankin, where blacks came up from the South after World War I to work in the steel mills. The pioneer in this story is WILLIAM H. PRICE, SR., who was known during his political career as a mediator of disputes who could "hammer out a compromise between rival factions."** The young Price showed early signs that he was ready for leadership: his oration to his high school graduating class in 1912, for instance, was loftily titled "The Negro's Opportunity." The text of his speech is unavailable now but Price would find that, other than in the steel mills or in domestic service, opportunities for blacks were extremely limited: for 24 years he served as a chauffeur. In the 1930s, however, Price became a charter member of the Colored Democratic Organization which emerged during FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT's presidency—and politics thereafter became the dominant interest of the rest of his life. After 22 years of service on the Rankin borough council, William H. Price, Sr., died in office at the age of 81. As his daughter, MAZZETTA PRICE CLANAGAN—who served in the borough council for eight years, told *TrendLetter*: "On November 17, 1969, in the borough of Rankin the flags were at half-mast as a stalwart citizen, a humane gentleman, was buried." Other members of this family to hold office are WILLIAM H. PRICE, JR. (from 1969 to his death in 1976), and WILLIAM H. PRICE III, the present councilman, who succeeded his aunt, Mazzetta.

Across the Nation

ARKANSAS: The Little Rock Board of Directors chose City Director LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD to serve a two-year term as mayor of the city. With this move, **Shackleford became the city's first woman and second black to gain the essentially honorary title.** She is an active member of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, executive director of the Arkansas Regional Minority Purchasing Council, and first vice-chair of the National Democratic Municipal Officials Conference.

ILLINOIS: In the final weeks before the February 24 Democratic mayoral primary in Chicago, the two leading candidates are still locked in a tight race that may be decided by the city's minority Hispanic population whom both candidates are vigorously courting. A mid-January *Chicago Sun-Times*/ABC News poll showed **former Mayor JANE BYRNE leading Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON by 44 percent to 43 percent, with voters sharply divided along racial lines.** Sixty-nine percent of whites polled by Gallup supported Byrne and 87 percent of blacks supported Washington. **A mid-February poll by CBS News, however, gives Washington a 47 percent to 36 percent lead. As in the earlier poll, racial polarization was high: 85 percent of blacks favored Washington over Byrne (with 11 percent undecided), and 64 percent of whites favored Byrne over Washington (with 19 percent undecided).** As reported in last month's *TrendLetter*, a December *Chicago Tribune* poll of registered voters showed Washington with a 54-to-38 percent lead over Byrne.... **Much of Byrne's rise in the polls can be attributed to her television ad campaign in which she accuses Washington of reducing the size of the police force in the face of rapidly rising crime.** Various analyses, however, have shown that accurate crime statistics are unavailable for the Byrne administration, since the Chicago police department practiced a system of underreporting in her years, and that the number of police has actually risen under the Washington administration.

LOUISIANA: It took Opelousas, the state's third-oldest city, 266 years to elect its first black mayor, 53-year old JOHN W. JOSEPH. Blacks make-up more than 50 percent of Opelousas's population. Joseph, who took office January 2nd, assumes his post at a critical time in the city's history: unnemployment is at an alarming 20 percent and most of the downtown area's major businesses are closing or relocating. A former school teacher and school administrator, Johnson has directed the Chapter I Program (a program to improve education for poor and deprived students) of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 in St. Landry parish.

Napoleonville, a town in Assumption Parish whose population is almost 50 percent black, has elected two black firsts: LAWRENCE "SAM" WILLIAMS as mayor and WILLIE BLANCHARD as chief of police. Williams has served as a deputy for the town and presently works as a school bus driver. Blanchard is currently a deputy.

MISSISSIPPI: This state will hold its elections for governor, other state-wide offices, and state legislative seats this year. **County Supervisor BENNIE THOMPSON (Hinds County) reports that Mississippi's black political leaders have formed an ad-hoc group, "Agenda '87," to increase black influence in elections and governance in the state this year.** Agenda '87 plans to draw up a policy agenda, evaluate candidates running for office in the state, and target state legislative districts for the election of black officials. **Currently, Mississippi has 10 majority black senate districts but only two black state senators.** In another 12 state senatorial districts blacks compose more than 30 percent of the voting-age population. **In the state's house of representatives, too, blacks are underrepresented:** 25 members represent majority black districts and an additional 30 districts have voting-age populations that are 30 percent or more black—but Mississippi has only 18 black state representatives. Winning a greater share of these districts is one of Agenda '87's major goals.

NORTH CAROLINA: NAACP field director CAROLYN COLEMAN says this state leads the country in the number of lawsuits seeking to replace at-large elections, which she says dilute black voting strength, with district elections. The NAACP filed seven voting rights suits in North Carolina in 1986. Statewide, the pressure is on local officials to institute district elections. Coleman says the NAACP has picked targets for suits by looking at an area's black population, its number of elected black officials, and the community's willingness to pursue the suits. Although the NAACP's 1987 priority will be economic development, it has vowed to continue its voting rights actions.

OHIO: ROBERT FORT, president of a newly formed black political group in Youngstown called The Black Citizens Coalition, has announced that he is running for mayor in the city's May primary. Fort must run against incumbent Mayor PATRICK J. UNGARO in the Democratic primary in his bid to become the city's first black mayor. However, the Black Citizens Coalition is a splinter group of the Youngstown chapter of the Black Elected Democrats of Ohio, and Youngstown's black leadership remains split. **Whether Fort has a real chance of winning will largely depend on whether black voters of this 50 percent black city can unite behind him.**

'86 Tax Reform May Hurt Minority Firms

Changes Still Possible

by Margaret C. Simms

Tax reform or "tax simplification" was achieved in 1986 by lowering individual and corporate rates and eliminating or phasing out several tax credits and deductions. What impact will these changes have on minority businesses? The question was addressed at a JCPS roundtable of experts on minority business.

The purpose of the roundtable was to analyze the Tax Reform Act of 1986 and to provide comments to the Treasury Department, which is in the process of writing regulations for the new law. The meeting was hosted by the Joint Center at the request of the research division of the Minority Business Development Agency, Department of Commerce.

The main conclusion of the panel of experts was that minority businesses would be adversely affected by the changes in the deductibility provisions of the new law. Most of the changes would have the effect of reducing cash flow in firms where working capital is already very low, which would be especially detrimental for new starts and for firms that are trying to expand.

Individual Tax Returns

Nearly all black and Hispanic businesses report their income on an individual tax return, because they are individual proprietorships or partnerships (98 percent) or corporations under Subchapter S. Therefore the changes in the law that affect individuals are important.

Limits on deducting interest. Minority entrepreneurs often must use their personal credit or personal equity to finance loans for business purposes. Interest on these loans may not be deductible because of the difficulty of proving that a personal loan had a business purpose.

Limits on business expenses. Expenses for activities that benefit the business, like tax advice and membership in professional organizations, cannot be written off personal income to the same extent as before. This raises the out-of-pocket costs to entrepreneurs.

Decreases in cash flow. The elimination of income averaging and the increase in estimated tax payments (individuals must now pay 90 percent instead of 80 percent of estimated liability quarterly) will require businesses to pay more to the government sooner. Many provisions also require more recordkeeping and more detailed tax advice—both of which are expenses that minority firms are not likely to find within their budgets.

"Emerging" Firms

Black businesses have traditionally been in the retail and personal service areas. However, some are "emerging" firms in non-traditional industries such as manufacturing and wholesale. Though these firms are small in number, they are important because they may offer the best prospects for expansion. (See Robert Suggs, "Black Businesses in Transition," *Focus,* June-July 1986.) The new tax law, though it includes lower corporate tax rates, includes other provisions that will have a detrimental impact on these businesses.

Because the emerging firms in the manufacturing and wholesaling industries are likely to be capital-intensive or to have large inventories, two changes will be most harmful: the elimination of the investment tax credit and the increase in the number of years for depreciating capital investments (and some indirect costs like pensions and warehousing). The impact of these changes will be to increase the costs of capital and to reduce cash flow.

Suggested Changes

The experts' recommendations fell into two categories. First, on issues that Congress had left to the discretion of the Internal Revenue Service, the panel suggested "liberal" interpretations in the proposed regulations, e.g., a limit on the categories of costs subject to the uniform cost capitalization rules. The panel also suggested that loan interest be deductible if a reasonable connection can be made between the use of the funds and the business.

Second, the panel suggested changes for Congress to consider when enacting technical amendments—which Congress will probably do later this year. The main proposed changes are to reinstitute the investment tax credit for small businesses and to exempt some small or new firms from the most detrimental changes.

The panel concluded with a strong affirmation of the need for continuing minority involvement in present and future tax reform efforts. This task is particularly crucial because, as one panelist noted, there was absolutely no minority involvement in the congressional rush to reform the tax code in 1986. While minority businesses were no doubt harmed by the 1986 tax reforms, there still is time for corrective action in 1987 as the IRS develops its regulations and Congress considers technical amendments. ■

Dr. Simms is deputy director of research at JCPS.

Risk of AIDS Is Spreading

Disease Control Tied to Behavior Changes

by Jacqueline Bowles

During the period June 1, 1981, to December 8, 1986, 28,098 AIDS cases in the United States were reported to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Approximately 25 percent of these AIDS patients were black—though blacks are only 12 percent of the nation's population.

The number of reported cases continues to rise among all ethnic and racial groups. The Surgeon General's Report on AIDS estimates that 270,000 AIDS cases will be reported by 1991—just four years away. If preventive steps are not taken, and if the percentage of blacks affected by AIDS remains constant, it is projected that 67,000 blacks will have contracted AIDS by the year 1991.

Despite these staggering figures, many blacks deny that AIDS is a problem that threatens them. In reality, of course, the AIDS epidemic threatens everyone who engages in high risk behavior, but it poses special problems for blacks because of the distinct way it is transmitted within the black community.

High-Risk Groups

The CDC data identified some key racial differences in the patterns of AIDS virus transmission. Among homosexual and bisexual men, 16 percent were black and 73 percent were white. Among heterosexuals, though, 50 percent were black, 25 percent were white, and 25 percent were Hispanic or other. As these numbers indicate, black heterosexuals are at greater *relative* risk for exposure to AIDS than white heterosexuals. This leads to the next startling statistic, the distribution of AIDS among women and children: blacks accounted for 51 percent of all women with AIDS and 58 percent of all children with AIDS.

What factors are associated with the greater relative incidence of AIDS among black heterosexuals? Two factors are suggested by the data. First, more than 50 percent of the non-homosexual AIDS patients with a history of intravenous (IV) drug abuse were black (while 30 percent were Hispanic and 19 percent were white). While these AIDS patients may have contracted the disease through the sharing of needles or other means, they can pass it on through sexual activity with heterosexual partners.

Second, it has been observed that black male homosexuals are more likely than white male homosexuals to engage in sexual activities with members of the opposite sex—i.e., to be bisexual.

A recent study of homosexual and bisexual AIDS patients in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, for instance, noted that 30 percent of the blacks in this group but only 12 percent of the whites were bisexual. Press reports have noted that one reason for the difference may be that it is more difficult for black male homosexuals to disclose their sexual preference because the black community attaches a strong stigma to homosexuality. Thus, there is pressure on black male homosexuals to have a bisexual lifestyle.

Education and Prevention

The spread of AIDS can be controlled if people receive accurate information about its risks and if they take the necessary precautions. Education and prevention efforts aimed at the white gay community, for instance, have showed measurable success. However, there has not been a comparable effort at developing AIDS education programs that are targeted at the black community.

A major deterrent to AIDS education and prevention in the black community—as emphasized by participants at a national conference on "AIDS in the Black Community," which was sponsored by the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays—is the stigma associated with the disease. As noted in an *Ebony* feature on

AIDS in Africa

Dr. Beny Prim, executive director of the Addiction Research and Treatment Corporation in Brooklyn, New York, is a leading authority on substance abuse and AIDS. He urges that black Americans pay attention to the devastating impact of AIDS in Africa. According to a recent *Newsweek* article, the World Health Organization conservatively estimates that 50,000 Africans in 11 nations have died from AIDS since the late 1970s. Leading AIDS scientists report that the death toll in Africa is probably substantially higher and that 5 million Africans may be infected with the virus. In Africa AIDS is spread predominantly through heterosexual contact or from mother to infant. Re-use of contaminated needles in a medical context and receiving unscreened contaminated blood also play a significant role in AIDS transmission in Africa. Dr. Prim fears that if black Americans do not acknowledge the AIDS threat and adopt preventive measures, black America may experience an epidemic similar to the epidemic that black Africans face today.

Dr. Bowles, a physician, is the Senior Scientific Advisor in the Office of Minority Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

AIDS patients, some blacks may delay seeking treatment because they fear rejection and abandonment by their families and friends. As *Ebony* also noted, the stigma associated with AIDS has prevented the mobilization of support groups for AIDS patients and their families.

Developing AIDS prevention strategies for IV drug abusers has also been a significant problem. There is controversy about whether to provide IV drug abusers with free sterile needles and syringes, or with information about cleaning needles and syringes, in an attempt to impede the spread of AIDS in this high-risk group. Associations such as the Health Education Resource Organization (HERO) in Baltimore, Maryland, and the Whitman-Walker Clinic, Inc., in Washington, D.C., train selected clients from local drug abuse projects to function as outreach workers disseminating AIDS prevention information to IV drug abusers and others who are at high risk for exposure to AIDS within the community. There is also a need for specialized AIDS education and prevention programs for black prostitutes, prisoners, and the families of blacks who are at high risk for AIDS exposure.

AIDS preventive education that is applicable to everyone includes teaching "safe" sexual practices, such as using a condom, limiting the number of sexual partners, avoiding sex with prostitutes, and avoiding "casual" sex. AIDS prevention also includes avoiding other high-risk behavior such as IV drug abuse. It is particularly important that such education begin at early ages, before sexual activity begins. ■

AIDS Fact Sheet

AIDS is an abbreviation for Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome. This syndrome is caused by a virus that destroys the body's natural defense system (immunity). The AIDS virus has been given several names by scientists—HTLV-III (Human T-Lymphotropic Virus Type III), LAV (Lymphadenopathy Associated Virus), and HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus). The virus invades the bloodstream and primarily attacks a certain class of white cell, the T lymphocyte. When T-lymphocytes do not function properly the immune system is impaired and the body becomes susceptible to uncommon, potentially lethal infections and cancers. These diseases are caused by bacteria, protozoa, fungi, other viruses and malignancies that are called "opportunistic" because they take advantage of the infected individual's lowered resistance and cause life-threatening illness.

Currently, it is thought that not everyone who is infected with the AIDS virus will become ill. The interval between infection with the virus and the presence of symptoms in those who become sick ranges from several months to five years or more. The infected person may remain healthy, but unless precautions are taken, he/she may be able to spread the virus to others. The infected person may develop AIDS Related Complex (ARC), which can also be a serious form of the disease. It is currently estimated that 20-30 percent of individuals infected with the AIDS virus for five years or longer will develop "classic" AIDS. The characteristic features of AIDS include opportunistic infections (such as *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia), cancer (such as Kaposi's sarcoma), and nervous system disease. Infection is the most common cause of death in AIDS.

The AIDS virus has been identified in several body fluids including blood, semen, and vaginal secretions. The virus is spread predominantly through sexual contact and by sharing intravenous needles and syringes. During sexual intercourse the virus (in semen or vaginal secretions) may invade the bloodstream through the vagina, rectum, or penis. Needles and syringes contaminated with blood from an infected person will transmit the virus into the bloodstream of the next user. The AIDS virus can also be transmitted from an infected pregnant woman across the placenta to her child in the womb or during delivery.

In the past, the AIDS virus was also spread to some people who received transfusion of blood or blood factors (such as hemophiliacs who require blood factors to clot their blood). Since March 1985, blood banks have used a test to detect antibodies to the AIDS virus. Antibodies are produced by the body 2-12 weeks following exposure to the virus. Although there is a very small risk that a newly infected person would not have the antibody present, it is anticipated that the use of this test to screen blood donors and the rejection of donors from known high-risk groups will virtually eliminate the future transmission of AIDS through blood or blood products. Unfortunately, people who received blood or blood products before March 1985 remain at a slight risk for developing AIDS.

It is important to note that AIDS is not transmitted by casual social contact such as shaking hands, hugging, social kissing, crying, coughing, or sneezing. AIDS has not been contracted by sharing linens, towels, or eating utensils.

The people who are at highest risk for exposure to AIDS are homosexual and bisexual men, and intravenous (IV) drug abusers. Sexual partners of people in these high-risk groups are also at risk for infection. Having numerous sexual partners, male or female, will increase one's risk of exposure to the AIDS virus. The developing infant of a pregnant woman who carries the virus is also at risk.

TELESCOPE

JCPS' 10TH ANNUAL DINNER SET FOR APRIL 8, 1987

Richard M. Morrow, chairman and chief executive officer of Amoco Corporation, will be the National Dinner Chairman, and Congressman Bill Gray (D-Pa.), chairman of the Budget Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, will head the General Dinner Committee at the 10th annual dinner of the Joint Center for Political Studies. The event will be held on April 8, 1987, at the Sheraton Washington Hotel, Washington D.C.

Tickets for the annual dinner are priced at $250 for individuals, $2500 for patron's tables, and $5000 for sponsor's tables. To make reservations, please call: (202) 626-3555. ■

COMPLETING BOOK IS GOAL OF JCPS' 1987 DISTINGUISHED SCHOLAR

Duke University law professor Jerome Culp has taken residence at the Joint Center as a Distinguished Scholar to work on a book which will develop a legal and economic framework for assessing black economic progress. "Past efforts to develop such a framework have not had the right mix of scholarship and empiricism," he said. Though Professor Culp will focus on issues arising under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he is also interested in analyzing other federal programs, e.g., minority business "set-asides" and the programs of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, which are aimed at advancing black economic interests. The book is titled, *Rights Due Respect: The Law and Economics of Affirmative Action*.

Professor Culp is the author of numerous articles in law reviews and economic journals. He has been an associate professor at Duke University since 1985, and has also taught at Rutgers Law School and the University of Maryland (in the economics department). He has received a B.A. degree from the University of Chicago, an M.A. degree from Harvard University, and his law degree from Harvard Law School.

Established under a three-year grant from the MacArthur Foundation, the JCPS Distinguished Scholars Program enables outstanding scholars to spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center conducting research. Eligible persons must have a record of substantial publication and distinguished work in their field. ■

NPI CO-SPONSORS PANELS FOR SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

The National Caucus of Black School Board Members (NCBSBM) and the Joint Center for Political Studies' National Policy Institute are co-sponsoring a set of workshops for black school board members at the National School Boards Association's Annual Meeting in San Francisco, California, April 4-6, 1987. The workshops will focus on issues of particular interest to black policymakers: education reform in urban and rural schools, and high school dropout prevention. Experts from a number of organizations, including the Joint Center, the Education Commission of the States, the Hispanic Policy Development Project, the Children's Defense Fund, the Southern Education Foundation, and the Institute for Educational Leadership have been invited to participate as presenters and panelists.

For more information on the conference, contact Adria Thomas, the National School Boards Association, at (703) 838-6722. Specific questions on the workshops should be addressed to Denise Alston or Russell Owens, both on the staff of JCPS, at (202) 626-3500. ■

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Shaping Post-Apartheid South Africa

Excerpts From a State Department Advisory Committee Report

JCPS Conference Report

The Distorted Lens

Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Survey Dispels Myth That Blacks Receive But Do Not Give To Charity

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PERSPECTIVE

Obstacles To A Foreign Service Career

The conference report on ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy that appears elsewhere in this issue of *Focus* raises a serious issue that was also addressed at a Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Braintrust meeting last October. The topic of discussion at the braintrust, to which I was invited to speak, was "What are the obstacles that prevent black Americans from fully participating in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy?" This is a subject I have pondered since 1961 when I began a seven-year stint in the U.S. Department of State. I was recruited for "the Department" (staff were and still are arrogant enough to think there are no other departments) by high-ranking Kennedy administration officials who were determined to "integrate the damn place." I was to be the "integratee," but a senior official in the Office of Protocol had a different idea, publicly proclaiming, "There is no place for a Negro in this office." The chief of protocol, key White House staff, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, for whom I had worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, disagreed. So, I was hired after some embarrassment, harassment, and a silly reduction in the paltry salary I had received while working in the Senate. Such are the dues blacks must often pay to enter white bastions of power and prestige.

I remained in the State Department seven years, achieving rapid promotions to bigger, better, and more rewarding jobs. In 1968, when I decided to resign to take a position as assistant vice-president of the University of Chicago, several senior officials literally pleaded with me to remain in the State Department and to accept a senior position in the prestigious Foreign Service Corps.

The CBC invitation last October brought back those 25-year-old memories and I felt the initial hurt and embarrassment all over again. Yet, today, the State Department is perhaps the only federal agency that could attract me into its employ. It's an interesting, exciting, and challenging agency though it is often maligned. With respect to the employment of minority professionals, some criticism is justified.

What are the obstacles that prevent blacks from participating as officers in the State Department?

- Rigid, often elitist, selection criteria sometimes administered by whites who, like the senior official I encountered in the Office of Protocol, see no place for blacks in the State Department.
- Highly specialized work, with a mixture of hazardous and grunt jobs, that must be accepted without dissent and at a discouragingly low pay.
- An image of the State Department as a bastion of white male dominance that discourages many capable blacks from even considering a foreign affairs career. The State Department fishes in the same black talent pool as IBM, General Motors, and Harvard Law School—but with much less success.
- And, finally, I must observe that blacks themselves are particularly at fault. Relatively few of us prepare for careers in foreign affairs and fewer still apply and vigorously pursue their applications for admission into what both black and white international specialists consider to be a relatively small and select group of professionals.

Thus, the obstacles are created both by the foreign affairs agencies, which often do not aggressively pursue black professionals, and by blacks, who often fail to see a challenging career opportunity in foreign affairs. Both obstacles must be torn down. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Shaping Post-Apartheid South Africa

Excerpts From a State Department Advisory Committee Report

Editor's note: From its first sentence, "The racial aspects of South Africa's existing political system repels most Americans," to its last, "A new policy is now urgently required," the report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee makes compelling reading. The 70-page report (including dissenting views) is a concisely stated review of the challenge facing U.S. policy makers, the nature of the apartheid system, and the realistic prospects for achieving a nonracial society in post-apartheid South Africa.

The co-chairmen of the committee are Frank T. Cary, President of IBM, and William T. Coleman, a prominent black lawyer and former Nixon and Ford administration Cabinet member. The other members of this blue-chip panel are Griffin Bell, Owen Bieber, John Dellenbach, Lawrence Eagleburger, Timothy Healy, Vernon Jordan, Helene Kaplan, Roger Smith, Leon Sullivan, and Franklin Thomas.

The committee concluded that the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" has "failed to achieve its original objectives"; President P. W. Botha's "reforms. . .fall far short of what is necessary"; and the "immediate challenge facing Western nations is to assist South Africa's politically disenfranchised and economically disadvantaged black majority to remove apartheid and end exclusive white rule."

The following excerpt from the committee's report deals with the key factors that will shape a post-apartheid South Africa.

Grounds For Hope

The tragic paradox of apartheid is that its core myth of an embattled people desperately seeking to survive in a hostile world prevents many whites from envisioning a secure future in a nonracial society. Deeply held racial stereotypes are now joined with an exaggerated perception of international communism's role in the struggle against apartheid. For this reason, one of the most important duties of Western policymakers is to present an accurate picture of the forces that will shape South Africa's future. There are causes for concern, but these must be assessed objectively and not allowed to overshadow many equally, if not more, compelling grounds for hope.

A first step to understanding the prospects for a resolution of the problem of apartheid in South Africa is to recognize that there are no historical analogies to developments in other African countries. Elsewhere in Africa, the extension of political rights to blacks came through decolonization. Except in Namibia, that process is now complete. In South Africa, decolonization occurred with the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Black leaders in South Africa do not contend that whites are "foreign" or "colonial," or that whites have another, more legitimate home to which they should return. The abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic and nonracial system thus involve the need for agreement among South Africans, not a decision to "withdraw" by any foreign power.

Semi-Industrial Nation

South Africa is a modern, semi-industialized nation, with far more urbanized, educated, and professional blacks than any of the sub-Saharan colonial territories at the time they achieved independence. Blacks already comprise over 40 percent of the professional work force in South Africa. In 1984, more than 40,000 black students were enrolled in university courses in South Africa. Black workers are more organized than their counterparts on the rest of the continent. In 1986, there were 54 registered and 59 unregistered black trade unions with over a million members, including some 600,000 affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

In contrast with much of the rest of Africa, traditional tribally-based institutions play a relatively minor role in South African society and politics. Even in the "homelands," political and military institutions are increasingly based on modern models. In the urban areas, where roughly 38 percent of South Africa's blacks now reside, there has been a steady proliferation of distinctly modern institutions such as civic associations, trade unions, student organizatons, parents' crisis committees, the Black Lawyers' Association, and the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC).

Models for Negotiations

A beacon of hope in the darkening South African scene is the several examples of productive negotiations between black and white leaders in localized or functional areas. These include negotiations between the increasingly powerful black trade unions and corporations (especially in the mining industry); talks between black community leaders, white businessmen, and officials on local grievances and consumer boycotts; the recently concluded "Indaba" in Natal

(Cont. on page 4)

aimed at creating a framework for a multiracial provincial legislature incorporating the province of Natal and KwaZulu "homeland"; and the National Education Crisis Committee conference of March 1986, where parents, students, teachers, political figures, and education officials negotiated productively on a range of controversial issues affecting school attendance. These efforts at localized and functional levels are not a substitute for the necessary and inevitable negotiations that must take place at the national level, but they provide valuable experience and establish positive precedents.

One of the most important potential forces for reconciliation across racial lines in a post-apartheid South Africa is religion. "Nowhere else," a leading South African journalist has written, "not even in Poland, is religion such a pervasively important factor in the politics of a nation." Over 90 percent of all whites and an estimated 75 percent of all blacks are church-going Christians. In addition, South Africa has a 125,000-member Jewish community with a strong liberal tradition and 318,000 Muslims who are generally moderate in political orientation. This breadth and depth of religious commitment could provide desperately needed bridges across a growing chasm of fear, hatred, and violence.

Men and women of all faiths, and the Christian majority in particular, have a special responsibility to take the lead in pointing out the fundamental inconsistencies between apartheid and their religious principles, and in establishing a spirit of repentance and reconciliation that will permit a vital society-wide process of healing to begin. Among the many clergymen and theologians who already play such a role are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Beyers Naude, Reverend Allan Boesak and Archbishop Dennis Hurley. In this regard, we note that on October 21, 1986, the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew its previous theological support of apartheid.

Political Leadership

The shape of South Africa's future will depend above all else on the qualities and character of the individuals who assume positions of leadership in a post-apartheid South Africa. On this count, the Advisory Committee finds considerable grounds for optimism.

One of the most important is the pluralistic character of black politics in South Africa. Outside of the homelands, there is no modern history of authoritarian black institutions. Before the ANC (African National Congress) was banned, debates within the organization over strategy and tactics were vigorous and open. In exile, it has been remarkably free of the internecine feuding that has afflicted many other exile movements. Although rooted in different intellectual traditions, the Black Consciousness movement and more recently the

(Cont. on page 12)

The Urgent Need for Negotiations

The first and foremost priority of U.S. policy should be to help to facilitate the beginning of "good faith" negotiations between the South African government and representative leaders of the black majority aimed at shaping a nonracial democratic political system. We, therefore, recommend that the United States, in close concert with its major allies, begin a diplomatic effort to achieve this objective.

As we have stressed throughout our report, conflict in South Africa will not end nor will the transition to a post-apartheid democracy begin without negotiations. Negotiations are not merely desirable, but unavoidable. Whether before or after a high toll in human suffering and economic damage has been exacted, black and white South Africans must recognize that military means—whether aimed at revolution or repression—cannot alone resolve the present struggle, and that, in the end, neither black nor white can live and prosper without the other. . .

There is no magic formula that can resolve the conflicts underlying the present crisis. But our wide-ranging discussions with a cross-section of South Africans have led us to conclude that, in order to create the conditions for the initiation of genuine open-ended negotiations with truly representative black leaders, the first steps the South African government must take are to:

- Release Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki; and all other persons imprisioned for their political beliefs. . .;
- Unban the ANC and other political organizations, and establish the right of all South Africans to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate freely in the political process;
- Terminate the State of Emergency. . .;
- Restore national citizenship to all persons born or naturalized within the internationally recognized territory of South Africa that have been denied citizenship on the basis of race;
- Repeal the Group Areas Act, the Native Lands Act, and the Population Registration Act;
- Create a legal system that will ensure that persons charged with crimes, including those of a political nature, are entitled to guarantees of due process, particularly the right to a fair and speedy trial and the prohibition of detentions without cause;
- Reincorporate the "independent" homelands into the Republic of South Africa.

The most urgent challenge facing the United States and the international community is to convince President P. W. Botha and his supporters that it is in their interests to negotiate now rather than later. . .This will require:

- finding ways to dispel the lack of knowledge that prevents many South African whites from understanding the depths of despair that fuels black unrest, the justice of black demands, and the strong concern of most black leaders for the future welfare of South Africa and all its inhabitants;
- taking steps to provide whites with reasonable assurances that they will not be unjustly victimized by a post-apartheid government;
- undertaking imaginative diplomatic and private efforts to encourage black and white South Africans to discuss and debate alternate political formulas and negotiating processes.

Survey Dispels Myth That Blacks Receive But Do Not Give To Charity

by Emmett D. Carson

Organized charitable giving and voluntarism have existed in the black community for over two hundred years but—despite its importance in the development of the first black banks and black insurance companies—very little is known about the contemporary charitable giving and volunteer behavior of black Americans. To fill this gap, the Joint Center has initiated a 24-month study on "Philanthropy In Black America." This article will examine some preliminary findings from a Joint Center/Gallup national survey on black philanthropy.

Charitable Giving Behavior

The contributions of blacks to various types of charitable organizations in 1985 are shown in the graph on this page. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of all dollars that are contributed by blacks to charity go to the church. Because churches receive such a large percentage of all black charitable dollars, researchers are extremely interested in how these funds are spent and, particularly, how much of it goes to aid the poor. To-date, however, there have been no reliable studies—in part because of the reluctance of church officials to publicly discuss these questions.

> ***The principal finding is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of giving, when income differences are controlled.***

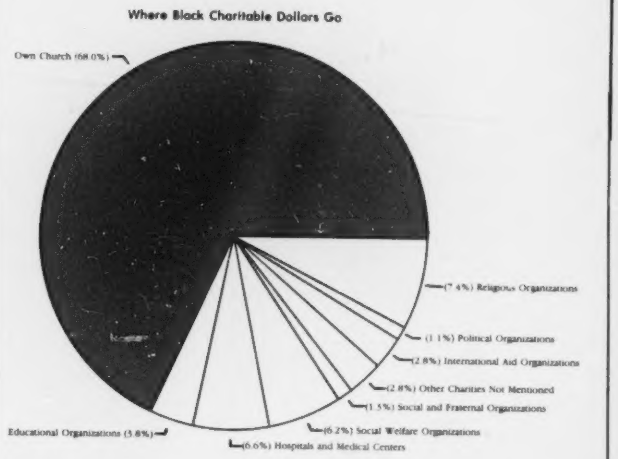
With regard to contributions to charities other than the church, several points are worth noting. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 and blacks with incomes between $30,000 and $34,999 give more on average to educational organizations than whites with similar incomes. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 also give greater amounts to international aid organizations than whites at the same level of income. Whites with incomes under $20,000 give more to the church, political organizations, and social welfare groups than blacks with the same income. In general, when controlling for income, blacks and whites contribute similar amounts to charity.

Dr. Carson is a research associate at JCPS.

What is important about these findings is that they document the intense and diverse involvement of blacks in charitable giving. Contrary to widespread beliefs, blacks are as active as whites in supporting charitable organizations. In a forthcoming article in the *Review of Black Political Economy* and in a presentation before the Independent Sector on March 20, 1987, the survey findings will be analyzed in greater detail and, of course, more information will be provided in Focus and other JCPS publications during the life of the study.

Volunteer Activity

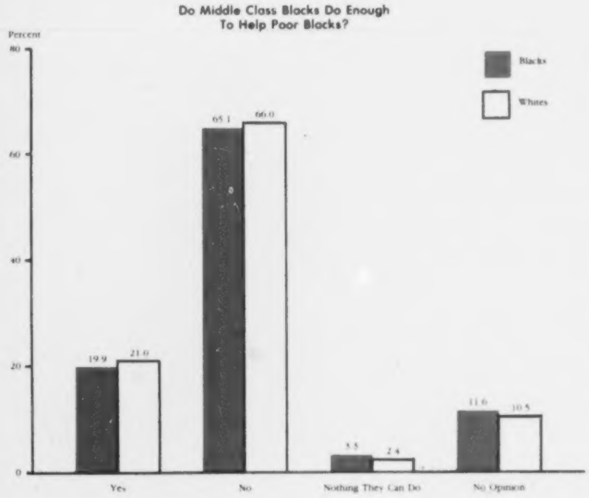
Another issue that has received limited attention in research on the independent sector is the volunteer behavior of black Americans. The findings indicate that blacks and whites at all income levels are equally involved in volunteer activity. About the same percentage of blacks and whites (35.3 percent and 34.6 percent, respectively) volunteered for church activities—by far the largest recipient of volunteer service. Education groups received the next largest share of volunteers, 11.6 percent of blacks and 12.7 percent of whites. Almost half of all respondents (50.0 percent of blacks and 45.1 percent of whites) responded that they did not do any volunteer work during the year.



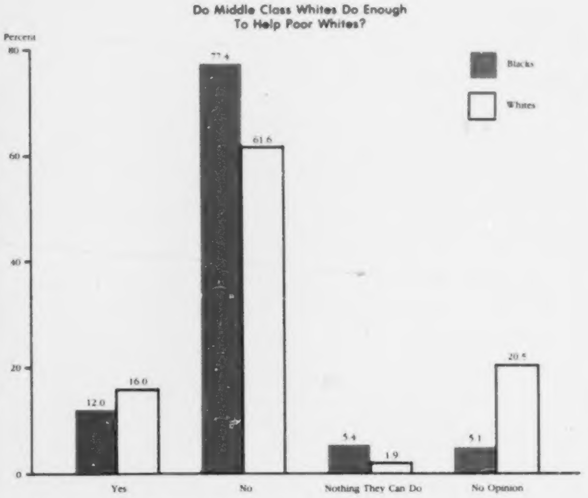
Where Black Charitable Dollars Go

Attitudes Toward Charitable Giving

In the debates on the role of self-help in the black community, questions are sometimes raised about the extent of the charitable activities of blacks—particularly of the black middle class. The findings of the JCPS/Gallup poll are that black and white respondents shared very similar opinions on the question of whether the middle class did enough for the poor; more than 60 percent of all blacks and whites said they thought the middle class did not do enough to help the poor. (See charts on this page.) The relevance of these results for the debate on self-help is that, in the opinions of both blacks and whites, middle class blacks do no less than middle class whites on behalf of the poor.



Number of Respondents—Blacks (868), Whites (916)
Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.



Number of Respondents—Blacks (868), whites (916)
Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.

The Joint Center/Gallup Poll Survey

In order to obtain information on the contemporary giving and volunteer behavior of blacks, the Joint Center commissioned The Gallup Organization to conduct a national survey using a questionnaire that was developed by the Joint Center. The survey differs from other national surveys of the charitable activities of blacks in two important respects. First, most national studies of charitable activity have samples that are only 10—12 percent black, e.g., about 150 blacks. While these percentages accurately reflect the percentage of blacks in the overall population, the percentages are too small to generate reliable estimates when disaggregated by age, income, and education—factors which are particularly useful in explaining who engages in charitable activity.

To address the problem of sample size, the Joint Center/Gallup survey oversampled blacks—the total of black respondents was 868 persons. Such a large sample allows for extensive analysis of their charitable behavior controlling for various sociodemographic variables. All respondents were surveyed in face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews are less likely to underrepresent low-income blacks than telephone interviews. In addition, 70 percent of the black respondents were interviewed by black interviewers, thereby reducing the risk of biased responses.

The second distinction between previous studies of charitable giving and the Joint Center/Gallup survey is that most studies of charitable activity have focused much of their attention on the monetary donations of the respondents in the sample. The Joint Center/Gallup survey contains extensive questions on voluntarism as well as charitable donations of food, clothing, and shelter.

Conclusion

One of the principal findings from the data presented here is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of charitable giving when controlling for differences in income. This finding challenges the myth that blacks are only recipients of charity. On the contrary, the survey indicates that blacks give considerable financial support to a wide range of charitable organizations. This finding is even more surprising given the differences in black and white attitudes toward what group has the greatest responsibility for helping the poor. The data also indicate that blacks are actively engaged in voluntarism. Again, these findings challenge widely held views that blacks are less active in volunteer activity than whites. ■

March 1987

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- Few black professionals are being hired to upper-echelon jobs in the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, and elsewhere.
- Two cities headed by black mayors, Atlanta and New Orleans, will host the national conventions for the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in 1988.
- An ad hoc group of black business persons and political leaders will leave on an exploratory mission to Japan in mid-April to promote better relations, and closer economic ties, between blacks and the Japanese.
- Across the nation, Mayor Harold Washington's primary victory is the first step in his reelection quest in Chicago; presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson goes farming for votes in Iowa; county supervisor Doris Ward is in an uphill battle in the Democratic primary in California's 5th congressional district; and, black political "firsts" are elected in South Carolina, New Mexico, Tennessee, Alabama, Indiana, and Minnesota.

Few Blacks Hold Top Jobs In Senate and Justice

When it comes to hiring blacks, a good record is hard to find. Whether its the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, the executive staff of New York Governor Mario Cuomo, or, as reported elsewhere in Focus, the State Department, few blacks can be found in policy-making or high status jobs. **The record in the Senate is particularly disappointing because the Democrats now control that chamber in large part because of the victory margin provided by black voters in six to eight key Senate races in 1986** (see *Focus*, November-December 1986). How will these Senate Democrats reward blacks? No doubt there will be favorable legislation on a fair housing bill, South Africa, welfare reform, and other issues, but the top jobs in the "world's most exclusive club" still are, for the most part, outside the reach of black professionals: an informal tally found only 38 blacks in policy-making positions on Senate staffs—slightly more than 1 percent of the total of 2500 to 2800 policy-making staff positions. Seventy-five senators (including three who received over 80 percent of the black vote on November 4, 1986) have no blacks on their staffs. To remedy this deficiency, *JACKIE B. PARKER, a legislative assistant to a Democratic senator from Michigan and president of the Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus* has circulated a letter which, in the genteel manner of doing business in the Senate, informs the senators that, **"This imbalance may not be the result of either discrimination or a lack of interested and qualified black applicants. It may just be that the problem has been allowed to exist simply because there has not been an active effort to correct it." The letter also notes that "blacks are interested in and capable of doing more than helping to elect candidates, we are also interested in and capable of helping them govern."**...On the other side of Capitol Hill, in the U.S. House of Representatives, many more black staffers can be found but there are none in the offices of the top leadership, such as House Speaker JIM WRIGHT (D-Tex.), Majority Leader TOM FOLEY (D-Wash.), and Majority Whip TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), according to congressional staffers, who also told *TL* that this issue was raised at a recent meeting between the top leadership and the Congressional Black Caucus.

The hiring record at the Justice Department is no better, according to RALPH NEAS, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, who said, "The top echelons [presidential appointees] of the Justice Department constitute one of the most segregated work

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forces in the country." Neas points out that Attorney General EDWIN MEESE and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights BRADFORD REYNOLDS have been the architects of the administration's anti-affirmative action policy. The central tenet of that policy has been that only identifiable victims of intentional discrimination can benefit from affirmative action—a position rejected by the Supreme Court. (A forthcoming article in *Focus* will discuss this issue in more detail.). . . **Neas points out that the department itself provides a good illustration of what could result if the Meese-Reynolds brand of affirmative action becomes the law of the land. Few minorities or women have been selected for federal judgeships or U.S. attorney positions, both of which are screened by the Justice Department.** By November 1986, the Reagan administration had appointed 290 federal judges in six years, of whom 5 (less than 2 percent) were black. Of the 93 U.S. attorneys appointed during this period, only 2 are black. In contrast, the Carter administration appointed a total of 258 federal judges, of whom 37 (14 percent) were black, according to Professor Sheldon Goldman of the University of Massachusetts.

In *New York*, too, the hiring record is disappointing—particularly in light of the debt owed to blacks whose near-unanimous support helped to elect Governor MARIO CUOMO in a very tight race in 1982. A study by the State Assembly Subcommittee on Affirmative Action found 23 blacks among the 185 employees in the Executive Chamber of the Governor in 1985—only 12 percent, compared to the state's 20 percent black population. According to political consultant TONI DARNEY SCHMIEGELOW, Governor Cuomo "has appointed few blacks to top posts in state agencies, none to his inner circle, and has yet to demonstrate a true commitment to affirmative action in his own hiring policies." (ED. NOTE: Former Howard University professor Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich was appointed by Cuomo to be his first commissioner of Housing and Community Renewal on January 1, 1983. She resigned in July 1985 to become deputy mayor of Philadelphia.) Elsewhere in the state government, the subcommittee report documents that "blacks are just now beginning to move into top management posts in many agencies." **(For a report on how blacks are faring in the Foreign Service, see the conference report on pages 8-11 of *Focus*.)**

Atlanta, New Orleans Will Host 1988 Conventions

Many people seem to think that black mayors govern only in major cities that are the very picture of urban blight—rapidly deteriorating and in the fiscal red. **A strong signal to the contrary comes from those who chose New Orleans, whose mayor is SIDNEY BARTHELEMY, for the Republican Party's national convention and Atlanta, whose mayor is ANDREW YOUNG, for the Democratic Party's national convention.** Though Atlanta and New Orleans are far from free of economic troubles, both are vibrant and well-managed. **Being selected to host the national conventions will be good for the cities' images and, with convention spending estimated at $50 million, for their economies as well.**

To those seeking a political explanation, **the selections of Atlanta and New Orleans signify a courtship of voters in the 11 southern states and the 138 electoral votes they control (which amounts to more than half the 270 needed to capture the White House).** PAUL KIRK, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, for instance, has said "If we are to be a competitive national party, we have to be competitive in the southern part of the country." **Other political observers speculate, however, that there was another reason for the Democrats' choice of Atlanta, whose convention center is slightly too small for the national convention. They assert that Atlanta is also the site of outspoken black leaders opposed to a second JESSE JACKSON presidential bid.** They say black leaders such as Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young will make it more difficult for Jackson to present himself as the principal spokesman for blacks at the convention. He will have to share the spotlight with other prominent blacks, of whom there are many in Atlanta.

Groundwork Laid for Mission To Japan

As noted in last month's *TL*, some black leaders were planning a protest and confrontation strategy as a means of bettering relations between blacks and the Japanese in the wake of Prime Minister YASUHIRO NAKASONE's insulting remarks about blacks. **The news this month is that an *ad hoc* group of black business and political leaders will leave for a six-day exploratory mission to Japan on April 12, 1987, to, in the words of the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman MER-**

VYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), "discuss the access and barriers for blacks in international economic ventures in the United States" and to explore the possibility of social and cultural exchanges. . . . Planning for the mission has been going on for several months and includes a visit to Japan in January by Congressman Dymally, who reported to his colleagues that he met with the U.S. ambassador to Japan (former Senator MIKE MANSFIELD), Prime Minister Nakasone's chief of staff, and with representatives of private businesses. **Dymally has had numerous meetings across the United States with elected officials and business persons, including a meeting in the Bahamas to discuss strategy and goals. As he told *TL*, "This is a substantive black response, not a protest response."**

Across The Nation

ARIZONA Arizona Governor EVAN MECHAM's **repeal of the MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. holiday in that state could be very costly if organizations begin to boycott the state, as some organizations and individuals have already vowed to do.** Entertainer STEVIE WONDER announced he will not perform in the state; the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), which represents publishers of black newspapers and magazines, denounced Mecham's action and cancelled its mid-winter convention in Phoenix; the National Finance Council of the National Democratic Committee also cancelled its winter meeting in Tucson over the King Holiday controversy.

ILLINOIS **Incumbent Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON won the Democratic primary 53 percent to JANE BYRNE's 46 percent. Still there is no clear sailing for Washington.** In the general election, as of this writing, he will face Republican nominee DONALD HAIDER, County Assessor THOMAS HYNES, of the Chicago First Party (a party formed only for the mayoral race), and EDWARD VRYDOLYAK, of the Illinois Solidarity Party. **If all the white candidates stay in the race, Washington, who won 98 percent of the black vote, 51 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 20 percent of the white vote, would be absolutely guaranteed to win.** But if two white candidates drop out of the race or are not taken seriously by the electorate, the scenario would be set for a replay of the tight battle of 1983, when blacks and whites voted along racial lines and Washington barely squeaked into office. Hynes is viewed as Washington's toughest opponent. He is viewed as more independent than Vrydolyak (the standard bearer of the old Daley machine) and Haider (who worked in the Byrne administration). **According to political scientist ROBERT STARKS, all the white candidates are more than likely to stay in the race. Each, although disguised under diverse party labels, represents a competing wing of the Democratic party and the real contest is over who will control the party and the remnants of the Daley machine.** Moreover, Vrdolyak in particular has so much money that he is unlikely to pull out of the race despite his continued high negative ratings in the polls.

In **East St. Louis**, incumbent Mayor CARL OFFICER beat back a strong challenge from businessman CLYDE JORDAN. Officer won 54 percent of the vote compared to Jordan's 46 percent. Both Officer and Jordan are black. Officer is expected to easily defeat his Republican opponent, DELORES TURNBOUGH (who is also black) in the April 7th general election.

INDIANA Though TL reported in January that incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER was unopposed for reelection, **a challenger has since entered the contest. THOMAS V. BARNES, Calumet Township assessor, officially became a candidate for mayor of Gary on February 4.** Barnes's campaign theme is "New Directions." He says it symbolizes his goal of "a new beginning for Gary, free of corruption and isolation." According to Barnes, his top two priorities are the crisis of unemployment and corruption in incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher's administration. (In recent months federal indictments have been issued to former Hatcher cronies.) Hatcher has also filed his candidacy for re-election for a sixth four-year term. Both Hatcher and Barnes are black.

IOWA JESSE JACKSON went farming for votes in Iowa with amazing success. **Going head-to-head with the Super Bowl on Jan. 25, Jackson drew 800 people to a church potluck supper—in an all-white town with a population of 2,500.** His feat did not go unnoticed in a state where such front-runners as former Democratic Senator GARY HART of Colorado and Senator Robert Dole of Kansas have had to settle for far smaller audiences. **The State Democratic Party chairman said Jackson left many awestruck, and FRANK ALEXANDER, a vice president and lobbyist for the United Auto Workers Union in Iowa, said "this time" the Democrats will have to take Jackson seriously.** Throughout Jackson's three-day visit to the state, he drew big crowds and successfully raised funds.

LOUISIANA Alexandria attorney **FAYE WILLIAMS**, who lost a narrow and bitter contest for the 8th congressional seal last fall, **says she is considering a bid for governor this year. Some political observers in the state speculate that if Williams enters the race she will hurt the candidacy of Governor Edwin Edwards who has had wide support from blacks since his first gubernatorial race in 1971.** But Williams, who also says she is eyeing another bid for a seat in Congress in 1988, says she "would not get in just to say [she's] running," nor would she run to hamper any candidate's chances.

MICHIGAN Michigan's Legislative Black Caucus has **issued a strong statement of disagreement with Gov. James Blanchard's 1987 "State of the State" message. They charge Blanchard's message does not reflect the "State of Blacks" in Michigan.** Citing isolated improvements for the black community during the Blanchard years, the Legislative Black Caucus says for the most part black conditions have continued to be characterized by high unemployment, underemployment, and poverty. They point out that **blacks overwhelmingly supported Blanchard in 1982 and again in 1986 (when he defeated black Republican William Lucas) in order to reject the Reagan philosophy and ultra-right conservatism in the state, but they say Blanchard's policy initiatives on human investment, on investment in higher education, and on programs to attract and retain firms are not working in cities with large concentrations of blacks such as Detroit, Benton Harbor, Flint, and Pontiac.** They call for Blanchard to renew his commitment to the state's cities.

PENNSYLVANIA Given the mounting evidence that the single-member district system benefits black candidates, **it is not surprising that black leaders in Pittsburgh (which has no blacks on its city council) have filed a suit charging that the city's at-large system discriminates against blacks. It is surprising, however, that the NAACP branch in Pittsburgh voted 11-10 in favor of maintaining the at-large election system in that city.** Blacks compose 30 percent of the total population in the city. No other major city with such a large black population has no blacks on its city council. **This year Pittsburgh has six city council seats up for election. Clarence Huff, Mattie Stone, Stanley Lowe and Otis Lyons—all black—are running for council seats.**

Allies Desert Ward in S.F. House Race

San Francisco city-county Supervisor DORIS WARD (who is black) has announced her decision to run for the House seat left open by the death of Congresswoman Sala Burton (D). Ward, one of eight Democrats and six Republicans in the race, has an uphill battle on her hands. The front-runner is NANCY PELOSI, former state Democratic chair and chief Democratic fund-raiser in the state.... **If political experience was all that counted, Ward ought to be ahead of Pelosi. Ward has held public office for 15 years (8 years on the Community College Board of Governors and 7 years on the Board of Supervisors) while Pelosi has never held public office before.** Although Ward holds a doctorate in education, has been the Board's coordinator on education issues, and has a legislative record of unwavering support for minorities, women, and labor (e.g., she has introduced minority and women business initiatives and aided in the establishment of an economic development corporation). **Pelosi has been endorsed by the local branches of the National Education Association (NEA), several other labor organizations, the National Organization of Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), the Latino Democratic Club, and even state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.** Brown, who is black, has stated that Ward should drop out of the race in order to not harm Pelosi's chances for winning the black vote in the district. Some sources in Washington say Brown and California 8th District Congressman Ron Dellums are making calls soliciting support for Pelosi. Pelosi also received Burton's endorsement....Some observers believe Pelosi, a member of Baltimore's wealthy Pelosi family, is far ahead only because of her wealth and her fund-raising abilities. **Pelosi opened her campaign with $750,000. They say if Pelosi wins, it will prove this district can be bought....Gov. George Deukmejian (R) set April 7th for the primary and June 2nd for the special election to the fill the vacancy in the 5th C.D.** The district includes about three-quarters of the city of San Francisco and is 9 percent black and 12 percent Hispanic. It is a Democratic bastion (64 percent of the voters are registered Democrats) which gave Walter Mondale 65 percent of the vote against Ronald Reagan in 1984. **To win, Ward would obviously have to put together a strong multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalition.**

More Black Political "Firsts"

In **Sumter, South Carolina,** three candidates, businessman WILLIE SINGLETON, Rev. WILLIAM S. RANDOLPH, of the First Baptist Church, and businesswoman HATTIE SCARBOROUGH, became **the first blacks to win the Democratic city council primary under the new single-member district method.** Since they will be unopposed in the general election on April 7th, they will become the first black councilmembers in Sumter since the late 1800s. Blacks make up 39 percent of Sumter's total population. Elsewhere in South Carolina, Chief Deputy Sheriff GEORGE REID became **the first black to be elected sheriff in McCormick.** Reid captured 1,228 votes in the Democratic party runoff in the majority black county and defeated a white opponent by 108 votes. Also in South Carolina, Attorney HARRY BROWN became the **first black elected probate judge** when he defeated a 40-year white incumbent in the Jasper County primary and then went on to win the general election in this majority black county.... MARIA CALDWELL, a Republican, became the **first black woman elected to a judgeship in Albuquerque, New Mexico.** Judge Caldwell now represents Division 6 on the Metropolitan Court. Before running for elective office, she was the assistant district attorney for Bernadillo County, an appointed position....In Tennessee, businessman ROLAND DYKES became the **first black alderman in Newport.** Dykes received the second highest number of votes among 15 candidates on the ballot for alderman....In Alabama, Selma lawyer NATHANIEL WALKER became **the first black to sit on the district court bench here since Reconstruction.** Walker, who won election last fall, will serve as Dallas County district judge....In Indiana, DIANNE WILDER-TOMLINSON became **Marshall County's first black elected official when she won the Marshall County attorney's race in November.** Less than 1 percent of the county's voters are black....In Minnesota, E. CRAIG MORRIS became **the first black mayor any Minnesota city has ever had when he was elected mayor of Lakeland.** *Morris is the only black adult living in Lakeland!* He is a strategic planner for Northwestern Bell telephone company.

Planning for the 1990 Census

Special Effort Being Made To Reduce the Undercount of Blacks

by Sherille Ismail

In a briefing for the staff of the Joint Center, officials of the U.S. Census Bureau identified several steps they are taking to reduce the undercount of the black population in the 1990 census and to provide the decennial census data in a timely and cost-effective manner.

As reported previously in *Focus* (see, e.g., May 1973, June 1979), the decennial census-taking has enormous implications for minorities in terms of the allocation of federal funds and the reapportionment of legislative districts—to name two of the most significant uses of the census data. For instance, 100 percent of the federal program funds for education ($3.9 billion), employment/job training ($1.9 billion), and housing ($8.2 billion), and 88 percent of the funds for community development ($22.6 billion) were allocated on the basis of formulas which used the population data in the 1980 census (source: *Government Information Quarterly*, Volume 2, No. 4, 1985). Consequently, states and local jurisdictions whose populations were undercounted would have received less than their due.

Adjusting the Undercount

The undercount of blacks has been revealed in studies which compared birth and death statistics to arrive at a number for total population. If this number exceeds the census count, the bureau knows it has undercounted a given population. In the 1980 census, for instance, the undercount was estimated at 5 percent for blacks and less than 1 percent for the rest of the population—an improvement from prior years when the black undercount was more than 7 percent.

Though public officials and others have sought (and even sued for) adjustments to correct the undercount, the Census Bureau has so far refused to do so—on the grounds that the census must be an actual count and cannot be based on estimates. For the 1990 census, however, a publicly stated goal of the bureau has been to "decrease the differential between the undercount rates for whites and for nonwhites."

Key Planning Dates

Every 10 years since 1790 the U.S. Bureau of the Census has taken a statistical "portrait of the nation's populace, in rich but anonymous detail," to quote John Keane, the current director. By law the bureau is required to complete its count of the U.S. population and its distribution by state, for purposes of apportionment, by December 31, 1990. An additional breakdown, for redistricting purposes, must be completed by April 1, 1991, and must include racial characteristics of sub-state geographical units (e.g., cities, tracts, blocks). Other relevant dates are April 1, 1987, for notifying Congress of the subjects to be covered in the census questionnaire; and, April 1, 1988, for the exact wording of the questions.

How can this be done? The first stage of this effort will be to improve the accuracy of the census count which is scheduled for April 1990. This means repeating (and refining) the techniques used in the 1980 census, when the black undercount was cut to 5 percent.

Some of the major techniques are purchasing lists of dwelling units from commercial vendors, using the Postal Service to verify occupancy data, and actively encouraging the participation of local governments in reviewing block-by-block counts of dwelling units and of population during the census.

The bureau also plans a "dress rehearsal census" in March 1988 to test its enumeration techniques in four sites, including St. Louis which has a large black population. Another plan is to broadcast public service announcements aimed at increasing public awareness of the benefits accruing to the community when the census is full and accurate.

In addition to these efforts at bettering the census count, the bureau is considering "post-enumeration surveys" in certain targeted black communities which are likely to have been undercounted. Another option being studied—which was recommended by the National Academy of Sciences in 1979 (see *Focus*, June 1979)—is to make postcensal adjustments of the population count for purposes of distributing federal funds but not for purposes of apportionment of population. Final decisions on these and other adjustment options will be made in May of this year. ■

Mr. Ismail is editor of *Focus*.

CONFERENCE REPORT

On April 17, 23, and 30, 1986, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) sponsored a series of round table discussions on "Ethnocentrism in U.S. Foreign Policy." The discussions were held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., and brought together a diverse group of experts: academicians, elected officials, foreign service professionals, business people, members of the press, and American and foreign ambassadors. (A complete list of the round table participants appears on page 11 of this report.) Bernard Johns, a State Department career foreign service officer detailed to JCPS as a Pearson Fellow, organized the round table series. The conference report was written by Susan Kalish, based on a draft by Ian McNett, both JCPS Consultants.

The Distorted Lens

Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Ethnocentrism, JCPS President Eddie N. Williams told the conference in his opening address, is one underlying cause of our persistent foreign policy failures in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Seen through the distorted lens of ethnocentrism, only countries "like us"—that is, Western, industrialized democracies—are of much importance. More often than we realize, Williams warned, an ethnocentric bias infects our foreign policy—distorting our perceptions of Third World countries, our analyses of events, and our assessments of the players. Ethnocentrism, he concluded, "can trap us in fruitless policy approaches or tempt us to take actions that backfire."

Following the opening address on April 17, 1986, a selected number of the participants made brief, formal presentations at each of the three sessions. Each presentation led to a free-wheeling discussion by the round table participants. This conference report is a summary of the proceedings of the three sessions.

I. Towards A Definition of Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism may be defined as the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group, the perception that one's own country lies at the center of the world. William Banner, professor of philosophy emeritus at Howard University, pointed out that ethnocentrism is a caricature of a tendency that is basic to human nature and which is generally constructive—pride in one's own ethnic group or national identity. Such pride plays a positive role in national liberation struggles and ethnic consciousness movements, emphasized Charles Thomas, professor of urban studies and planning at the University of California, San Diego, who presented a paper on the political psychology of ethnocentrism at the April 23 round table. But, he cautioned, ethnocentrism is also the breeding ground for nazism, white supremacy, or other forms of racism.

"The bad, if you will, of ethnocentrism," said Bernard Johns, a career foreign service officer and Pearson Fellow at JCPS, "is when the normative values of a given society enter into the process of analysis. If we project our values to interpret a foreign, a different group, we invariably misinterpret that group's behavior. This occurs because we fail to appreciate that group's norms for political behavior as different from our own. It is as if everything different has to be bad."

The "official mind" that conditioned our foreign policy from the first Indian wars through the end of the nineteenth century was often "overtly ethnocentric and racist," said Elliott Skinner, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, who presented a paper on the history of ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy at the April 17 round table. From the birth of our nation, ethnocentrism colored U.S. policies toward Latin America, the Pacific Islands, the Far East, and Africa—fostering such now-discredited slogans as "manifest destiny" and "the yellow peril."

Throughout American history, Skinner said, U.S. policy towards nonwhite peoples in the less developed world exhibited a surface altruism and an underlying contempt, with an admixture of commercial greed. This attitude often served as a justification for the exercise of naked power. For example, in the 1890s, before he became president, Teddy Roosevelt pushed for the annexation of Hawaii, arguing that failure to do so would be a crime against the United States and against "white civilization." In Roosevelt's view, America should acquire "for the white race the best portions of the world's surface."

II. Ethnocentrism in American Institutions

Although overtly racist rationales and rhetoric—such as the "white man's burden"—have been generally muted in American foreign policy debates in recent years, the participants agreed that ethnocentrism persists in the foreign service, the media, and the educational system.

The Foreign Service

Traditionally, the U.S. foreign service has been staffed from a small circle of eastern, mostly Ivy League elites, who tend to think alike and share the same blind spots, according to several round table participants. A sharp critic of this tradition was Congressman George Crockett (D-Mich.), now chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, who said, "The State Department . . . projects a lily-white image to the world . . . and it relies on a small, increasingly out-of-touch group to formulate policies." Crockett charged that "what we see today is a foreign policy practically bereft of input from minority communities in the United States. We see almost no Hispanics, women, or blacks in positions of power at the State Department, the White House, or other decision-making centers." (See the box on this page for Congressman Crockett's more detailed remarks on blacks in the foreign service.)

The consequences of having a "lily-white" foreign service were addressed by Aurelia Brazeal, then deputy director of Japanese affairs in the State Department and now economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, who said, "Most [white] Americans are not comfortable dealing with nonwhite peoples. They lack the tools to cope when they are in a minority situation themselves. Black Americans and other minorities do have those tools, because we cope in this country as a minority."

Several participants, however, warned that increasing minority representation in foreign service agencies, while desirable, would not necessarily cure ethnocentrism. Remarked Brian Weinstein, professor of political science at Howard University, "I don't see any data that would support the general idea that merely making the foreign service reflect American society would automatically develop that sensitivity and that knowledge that would make our foreign policy better." Furthermore, to influence foreign policy requires a sophisticated understanding of the foreign policy making process—something minorities, due to their historic exclusion from these processes, may lack, commented Ambassador William B. Jones, a retired foreign service officer who was recently appointed staff director of Representative Crockett's subcommittee.

Ambassador George S. Vest, director general of the U.S. Foreign Service, commented that his recruitment efforts since 1984 have not been as productive as he wished. Minority young people seem drawn to other opportunities that "make it difficult to recruit them in the numbers we want. We set targets. We don't make them." Stephen Low, director of the Foreign Service Institute, added that despite measures to alter foreign service officer examination and acceptance procedures to avoid unfair exclusion of minorities, "stimulating interest" remains difficult.

The Media

The press and electronic media drew mixed reviews from round table participants. Some thought the media

(Cont. on page 10)

The Foreign Service: Backsliding on Blacks?

Black influence and presence in the foreign policy establishment increased significantly during the Carter administration, said Representative George W. Crockett, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. Key appointments included: former Congressman Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Terry Todman as the first black assistant secretary of state for a geographic bureau (Latin American Affairs); Donald McHenry as deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and later as chief; and John Reinhardt as director of the U.S. Information Agency (columnist Carl Rowan was the first black director, during the Johnson administration). In addition, several blacks were appointed as ambassadors to important European countries, including David Bowland to East Germany, O. Rudolph Aggrey to Rumania, and Terry Todman to Spain.

"Besides making these very visible and significant high-level appointments, the Carter administration sought to increase minority representation in the career foreign service and to provide greater opportunities for blacks to come into the White House and the State Department to present their views on foreign affairs issues," Crockett said.

Crockett cited serious "backsliding" during the Reagan administration, however. In 1986, just 254, or 6 percent of the total of 4,101 officers in the U.S. Foreign Service were black. There are only 12 blacks at senior levels in the State Department out of a total of over 650 positions. None of these are black women. [Note: In the fall of 1986, since Crockett's remarks, Aurelia Brazeal was promoted to the rank of senior counselor and is now the economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo.] There are only 25 blacks among the 729 individuals eligible to compete for the senior foreign service, said Crockett.

Only one black person holds a senior policy-making position in the Department of State—Assistant Secretary of State Allan Keys (International Organization Affairs). There are only two deputy assistant secretaries of state—Clarence Hodges in the Equal Employment Opportunities office, and William Robertson, head of the Africa Bureau. Only two blacks work at the next lower level as office directors—Howard Walker at the Bureau of West African Affairs and Clarence Pegues, executive director at the Bureau of Political and Military Affairs.

According to Crockett, the situation in American embassies overseas is "equally disturbing, at both the upper and lower echelons. We are witnessing a steady retreat from the commitment of previous administrations to open up positions and opportunities to minorities and to women." Out of the 150 ambassadorial positions, black Americans now have only 6 positions, down from a high of 16 during the Carter years. Only one of these is posted outside of Africa—Ambassador to Denmark Terry Todman. (Note: since Crockett's remarks, President Reagan has named Edward J. Perkins, a State Department veteran, as the first black U.S. ambassador to South Africa.)

(Cont. from page 9)

were doing an adequate job in informing the public on what is going on overseas. Others felt the media were prisoners of the same ethnocentric thinking that affects policy makers. Areas of the world are often ignored until they become hot spots. Then, in the crisis atmosphere, the media focuses on ongoing events, catching up belatedly, if at all, on the forces that created and shaped the crisis. Gary Sick noted how Iran was ignored by the media, as well as by two administrations, until it was too late. As this is being written, another Iran crisis has strained public credibility in another administration. As a nation we still do not understand Iran very well at all.

Unquestionably, some reporters make extraordinary efforts to find out what is going on in the countries they cover. They go to unusual, even dangerous, lengths to get both sides of the picture and to provide the background that is needed to make an intelligent assessment of a situation. Editors, editorial writers, and network news executives, however, often do not have the same experience or opportunity. Every reporter's story necessarily is filtered through the minds of several other journalists before it appears in print or on camera. Further, reporters often are assigned to stories or beats on the basis of accomplishment in another area. They may be ill-prepared for covering a culture different from their own, while grappling with a new language. Some of the larger newspapers rely on foreign nationals and foreign wire services for coverage. Still, much of the media is ill-prepared to inform its readers or audience of crucial background and historical information that would shed light on crises and ongoing events in the world generally, the Third World particularly. Beyond major metropolitan dailies which pride themselves on being national newspapers, precious little background is available to the American citizen. The history and effects of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, China, and Latin America are little understood. The reason why some Americans do not understand the antipathy of some Third World peoples to the United States is that they simply have not had access to the facts.

Newspapers, too, might consider establishing fellowships, years abroad, and other opportunities for current and future journalists to deepen their understanding of other cultures. They should also consider hiring, as some do, Americans who already have had experience abroad—Peace Corps volunteers, international business representatives, diplomats, AID officers, and others who can demonstrate a genuine understanding of the nations and regions they would be covering. Fellowships and sabbaticals for mid-career journalists would allow them to enrich their comprehension of the areas they cover, and that of their readers as well. Most metropolitan newspapers could draw on nearby universities for area and regional experts who could offer seminars for editors and editorial writers who shape news and editorial policies.

Educational Institutions

An unconscious ethnocentrism permeates our education system, many round table participants noted. From grade school through college, students are routinely exposed to Western civilization but only rarely to other traditions and cultures, pointed out William Bate, American studies specialist in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, United States Information Agency. Relatively few graduate students pursue specialized studies in geography, non-European languages, or area studies. As a result, even to most educated Americans, many areas of the Third World are just hazy blurs on the world map.

III. Ethnocentrism and Recent Foreign Policy

Round table participants discerned ethnocentric elements in recent policies toward several unfolding events in the Third World. This country's relations with Iran and South Africa and our response to terrorism came in for special criticism.

Historically, ethnocentrism has tended to intensify in times of national stress, pointed out Ambassador Howard K. Walker, who served with the State Department for 21 years. Even today politicians may manipulate feelings of ethnicity, he said, to rouse public support behind foreign actions that are shortsighted and ultimately self-destructive.

Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, associate dean and director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, pointed out that today, when the world is shrinking and American influence seems to be waning, we are particularly vulnerable to irrational fear of political power passing to people "not within the Euro-centric ken of American citizens."

What's an Ayatollah?

Crises in the Third World have often caught the public and policy makers unaware of conditions in the trouble spot. Such ignorance was poignantly apparent during the Islamic revolution and hostage crisis in Iran, said Gary Sick, who gave the luncheon presentation at the April 23 round table. As the principal White House aide on Iran in the Carter administration, Sick was a first-hand observer of events in Iran and has described the crisis in a recent book, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran.*

The morning the crisis broke, Sick recalled, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency had to brief the vice president on what an Ayatolla was. It was obvious, he said, that the director himself had just learned the meaning of the term. Despite Iran's 2,500 year history and a heavy U.S. policy investment, Sick said, "For the most part, at least until these crises started, Iran was a blank spot on Americans' conceptual map"—elected officials, the foreign service, and the general public alike.

Seeing South Africa Clearly

Henry Bienen, James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor at Princeton University, challenged many commonly held assumptions during his April 30 presentation on U.S. policy towards South Africa. Bienen said that—"off-the-cuff" remarks by political leaders to the contrary—there has not been much substantive change in the U.S. South African policies of Presidents Nixon, Carter, and Reagan. Each of these administrations, he said, have based their policies on the mistaken conviction that the United States needs South Africa as an ally in a region where the influence of the Soviet Union has been expanding.

Round Table Participants

Millard Arnold, Associates International
Professor Curtis Banks, Howard University
Professor William Banner, Howard University
Dr. William Bate, U.S.I.A.
Professor Henry Bienen, Princeton University
Aurelia Brazeal, U.S. State Department
Carol Brookins, World Perspective, Inc.
Dr. Lynn Burbridge, JCPS
Professor Goler T. Butcher, Howard University
Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Dillard University (ret.)
Ambassador Walter C. Carrington, Howard University
Professor Babalola Cole, Howard University
The Honorable George W. Crockett, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives
Professor William Cross, Cornell University
Dr. Susan Schaeffer Davis, University of Pennsylvania
Ambassador Horace G. Dawson, Jr., U.S.I.A.
Dr. Winnie D. Emoungu, U.S.I.A.
Susan Erickson, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Professor John B. Eubanks, Howard University
Dr. Eleanor Farrar, JCPS
Dr. Patricia Fisher, Howard University
Ambassador Richard K. Fox, Jr., Meridian House, International
Dr. Allan Goodman, Georgetown University
Gillian Gunn, Georgetown University
Ambassador Clarence Hodges, U.S. State Department
Jay Jacobson, U.S. State Department
Bernard Johns, Pearson Fellow, JCPS
Ambassador William B. Jones, U.S. Foreign Service (ret.)
Colbert L. King, Riggs National Bank
Dr. Robert Kohls, Meridian House, International
Stephen Lande, Manchester Associates, Ltd.
Ambassador Stephen Low, Foreign Service Institute
Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, Georgetown University
Ambassador Francis J. McNeill, U.S. State Department
Stephen Menick, Freelance Journalist
Professor Gwendolyn Mikell, Georgetown University
Dr. Milton Morris, JCPS
Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, Georgetown University
Dr. Edwin J. Nichols, N.I.H.
Ambassador Ronald Palmer
Julia-Ellen C. Robinson, International Marketing Consultant
Leonard Robinson, African Development Foundation
Stephen S. Rosenfeld, The Washington Post
Professor Faraidoon Shams, Howard University
Dr. Paul Shapiro, U.S.I.A.
Dr. Gary G. Sick, Ford Foundation
Professor Elliott Skinner, Columbia University
Professor Charles W. Thomas II, University of California, San Diego
Ambassador George S. Vest, U.S. Foreign Service
Ambassador Howard K. Walker, U.S. State Department
Professor Brian Weinstein, Howard University
Eddie N. Williams, JCPS
Francille Wilson, Author

Several participants, including Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, now University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations at Georgetown University, disagreed with Bienen on the changes in U.S. policy under the different presidents. McHenry, who succeeded Andrew Young as permanent representative to the United Nations under President Carter, cited important "differences of emphasis" between the different administrations.

Goler T. Butcher, professor of law at Howard University and former assistant administrator for Africa, U.S. AID, said that kinship politics seriously distorts our view of events in South Africa. For example, we speak of wanting to prevent violence in South Africa, but "in the kith and kin view of U.S. policy makers towards South Africa, violence tends to be equated with the killing of whites." Butcher and other participants criticized the Reagan administration for dealing almost exclusively with the white minority regime while seriously neglecting contacts among black South Africans.

Avoiding the "Terror Trap"

Our own ethnocentrism increases the difficulties of remaining rational when terrorist incidents occur, many participants felt. Sick spoke of terrorism as "part of the human condition," a political tool that is "rediscovered in every generation as needed." However, policy makers and the media have overreacted to terrorism, he said. However outrageous these incidents, "to make [terrorism] into . . . the number one threat to U.S. security is simply wrong," he declared. The real danger, according to Sick, is that the United States may fall into the "terror trap"—allow itself to be manipulated into taking foreign policy actions that are hasty or wrong.

IV. Reducing Ethnocentrism

To reduce the distorting effects of ethnocentrism in foreign policy making requires educational changes, a more sensitive and informed media, and better representation of minorities among those who make foreign policy. Greater efforts must also be made to encourage minority young people to pursue foreign policy careers, to enable minority academicians to study foreign affairs in universities and think tanks, and to involve minority public officials more deeply and systematically in the formulation of foreign policy. These goals increase in urgency as it becomes more and more important for the United States to have better relations with Third World peoples and nations. The challenge for us in the United States has never been greater nor the penalties for misunderstanding more severe. ■

Advisory Committee Report

(Cont. from page 4)

United Democratic Front (UDF) have demonstrated a remarkable ability to bring together under one umbrella groups and individuals representing a variety of different interests and perspectives. At all levels of organization, and especially within the trade union movement, there is a deeply ingrained commitment to the principle that leaders must be accountable to their constituents.

Another distinctive feature of the South African scene is that, from the 1950s to the present, local community leaders have played a decisive role in determining the agenda of opposition politics. The UDF and COSATU are examples of institutions in which unity has been built from the bottom up on the basis of shared interests and objectives rather than imposed from the top down on the basis of the preconceived ideas of national leaders.

The vitality of the creative debate that is currently under way inside the black political community is another asset as we look beyond apartheid. The intellectual contributions of a steadily expanding number of black educators, journalists, lawyers, church leaders, union leaders, and businessmen attest to the breadth of resources that will be available to a nonracial society. In a society free of race restrictions, their mixture with white leadership will further enrich such resources.

The Role of Whites

Despite their long and bitter struggle against apartheid, black leaders retain a considerable reservoir of goodwill toward whites. The spectre of white "boat people" forced to flee the grip of a vicious black dictatorship is not consonant with the reality of generations of efforts by pragmatic black leaders to persuade whites to move toward the creation of a nonracial order. From the ANC (with its Freedom Charter declaration that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white") to the exponents of Black Consciousness (whose martyred leader Steve Biko in 1976 declared of a future South Africa: "White participation is imperative"), black leaders have consistently acknowledged that whites have an important role to play in a post-apartheid society. ■

Update on JCPS 10th Annual Dinner

William E. Brock, secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, will be the featured speaker at this year's dinner, to be held on April 8, 1987, at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. Jewel Jackson McCabe, president of the Coalition of 100 Black Women, will be the mistress of ceremonies. Call (202) 626-3555 for further information.

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Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

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New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Framework II: Only "An Adroit Mix of Strategies" Can Succeed

In the few weeks since the Joint Center released *Policy Framework II: Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility*, an essay by the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, we have been pleased by the favorable reaction the report has received in the media and in the black community. One nationally reknowned political commentator, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, wrote that the report "can be read with profit not only by the dozen white males who dominate the likely presidential field, but by others on both sides of the color line that still runs through American society." Veteran civil-rights leader Dorothy Height says it "should be required reading for every leader, policy-maker, educator, office-holder, and citizen in the nation." Many other favorable comments have been received.

While most writers and readers captured the essence of this compelling essay, an article in the *Washington Times* clearly did not. Its headline read: "Liberals Adopt Conservative Idea." Baloney! When did black self-help become the conservatives' idea? Helping ourselves has been a survival issue since we first set foot on these shores. As the report states,

> Action by government in addressing social and economic needs has been important, but it has been both recent and modest. Blacks made the transition from a largely impoverished mass of former slaves to a strong, vibrant community largely through the work of civil rights, cultural, fraternal, religious, social, professional, and service organizations in the black community. *Thus, black Americans have an unusually rich history of self-initiated contributions to our own well-being.*

So, what is new and worthwhile about this report? First, by reaffirming that family, education, and individual enterprise are central values in the black community, we can draw more explicitly and openly upon these values—and, move beyond the polarization that was beginning to develop between various groups in the black community on the question of "values." Second, by noting that some segments of the black community have been raised to middle class status, we identify a potential, valuable resource that may have been underutilized in an era when the government was the most effective instrument for black progress. As *Framework II* states, "Organizations at all levels, particularly locally based community organizations, need to address more vigorously the appropriate role and implementation of collaboration across class lines between blacks who enjoy some of the advantages of the society and those who do not."

Third, the report identifies actions that can only be taken by the government—such as restoring "the economy to include more jobs of moderate skill and decent pay that created the white middle class," and repairing "the deteriorated infrastructure of the cities."

What is new, in sum, is the balance of individual, community, and governmental responsibility. As John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton state in their introduction to the essay,

> "We believe that the one-sided emphases and single-minded approaches to black progress we often hear today are simplistic and utterly inadequate. Instead . . . we undertake to acknowledge and then work with the inescapable reality that blacks, whose progress has been artifically delayed by societal racism and official discrimination, must now find their way to equality in a far more troubled and rapidly changing context than other Americans faced. Given the depth of the disadvantage that still besets the black community, only an adroit mix of strategies that complement one another can have any chance of success."

Copies of *Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility* can be purchased for $6.95 from the Joint Center. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

by Toni Darney Schmiegelow

From the early 1950s through the late 1970s, if black leaders around the United States wanted to inspire blacks to do more politically, they had only to point to New York. In those years, New Yorkers could boast of electing an impressive list of political leaders (Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm, Basil Paterson, Percy Sutton, and many more[1]) to national and local office. Beginning with the election of Hulan Jack as Manhattan borough president in 1953, New York politics offered a bright promise of steadily increasing political strength and influence.

Today, however, the early promise has failed to blossom. New York no longer is on the leading edge of black politics. For instance, though New York had the highest number of black elected officials in 1968, 12 other states elected more blacks to public office in 1985. Though New York has a 20 percent black population, only two blacks (and none from New York's major cities) are mayors and no blacks have been elected to statewide office. Michigan, Illinois, and California, three states with smaller black populations, have better records. The highest ranking black politician in New York City is Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins—who holds the position Hulan Jack held 34 years ago. In comparison to the promise of the past and the performance of blacks in other states, New York's once-shiny star has lost its glow. As a recent *New York Times* article said, "blacks here have made fewer strides politically than their counterparts in other big cities."

To explore the reasons for the decline of black politics in New York, Darney and Associates, the consulting firm I head, conducted interviews with eight prominent black elected officials as well as a renowned black political scientist: Congressmen Charles B. Rangel and Floyd Flake; Deputy Assembly Speaker Arthur O. Eve; Assemblyman and New York County Democratic Chairman Herman "Denny" Farrell; State Senator David A. Paterson; Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins; City Councilman Hilton Clark; a respected black politician who did not want his name used; and Professor Charles V. Hamilton, Wallace A. Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University. The following is an edited summary of the interviews.

What happened between Hulan Jack's election (as Manhattan Borough president) in 1953 and David Dinkins' election (to the same office) in 1985? Why have there been no black mayors of major cities in New York State, and no blacks elected to statewide office?

Most of the interviewees pointed to demographics and the low voter registration figures as the major reasons why no blacks have been elected to statewide office or to city halls. "It is just sheer arithmetic," Professor Hamilton said. "The numbers aren't there. There simply are not enough black voters." Though this view is widely accepted, it should be noted that the 1.7 million blacks in New York City are 22.7 percent of its voting age population (VAP)—a significant voting bloc which compares favorably to the 352,000 blacks (15.9 percent of the VAP) in Los Angeles, which has elected Tom Bradley as mayor for four terms.

Another explanation, surprising and controversial, was volunteered by three of New York's leading politicians, Congressman Rangel, Assemblyman Farrell, and borough President Dinkins: the breakup of Tammany Hall. Although some studies have shown that political machines have hindered black political development, Farrell took another view: "The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks." Manhattan Borough President Dinkins cited the example of Manhattan: four blacks who became borough president—Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley (1961-1965), Constance Baker Motley (1965-1966), and Percy Sutton (1967-1977)—ran for election as incumbents after having been appointed by Tammany Hall to fill an unexpired term. The first black to run as a non-incumbent, Dinkins, lost in his first two attempts (1977 and 1981) but won in 1985.

Congressman Rangel even speculated that a black would have been elected mayor because the machine had to balance the ticket to maintain its power. This view was supported by Professor Hamilton, the political scientist, who said, "I don't think there's any question that [Tammany Hall] helped. Ticket balancing, maintaining ethnic balances, that is what the machine is all about. You can look at Chicago. Harold Washington is not anti-machine. He is a creature of the machine. He

Ms. Schmiegelow is president of Darney & Associates, a black-owned firm whose political consulting services are targeted to black and Hispanic constituencies. She served as director of Congressional Relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Carter administration.

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[1] Including state legislators George Miller, Frank Boyland, Vander Beatty, David Dinkins (now borough president), Thomas Fortune, and Arthur Eve; Councilmen Sam Wright, Fred Samuels, and Enoch Williams; Borough Presidents Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley, and Constance Baker Motley; State Supreme Court Judges William Thompson, Fritz Alexander, and Bruce Wright; and the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus.

(Continued on p. 4)

New York's Black Political Power

(Continued from p. 3)

is merely trying to replace it with his machine. The machine *per se* is the traditional method for bringing in outside groups and that certainly includes the black community."

From our research, we have found that in many other states, e.g., California, there are "stages of development" which young people interested in the political process go through. For example, they go from working as campaign volunteers to working on senate, assembly, or congressional staffs, and eventually they seek elected office themselves.

> ***"The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks."***
>
> ***—Assemblyman Farrell***

Do you agree that these "stages of development" are not present in New York?

Three respondents (Senator Paterson, Borough President Dinkins, and Councilman Clark) said that their own careers had progressed through the stages we had identified. This was particularly true for Paterson and Clark, whose fathers, Basil Paterson and Kenneth B. Clark, respectively, are still influential in New York and national politics. The respondents agreed that New York has no system for nurturing up-and-coming young politicians. The political jobs which are available compare unfavorably with jobs in the private sector and with political posts in other states, including California where assembly staff members earn $30,000 a year. By comparison, the average *total* staff budget for a freshman member of the New York State Assembly is only $30,000.

Geographic splits are always talked about in New York (e.g., upstate/downstate, Manhattan/ Brooklyn). Are there geographic splits in the black political community?

Most of the interviewees agreed that there are geographical splits, but they also emphasized that the splits are not unique to the black community. As Deputy Speaker Eve said, "New York politicians see their clubs, their areas as islands unto themselves. They will not cross county lines to support people outside of their own areas." Congressman Flake (who represents a Queens district) added an historical perspective: Manhattan politicians have tried to dominate black politics, and the current geographic splits are merely a reaction to their attempts to control.

Professor Hamilton said the political make-up of New York City, which creates five "mini-mayors" in the borough presidents, tends to "side-track candidates who were thinking about running for mayor [of New York City]." As a result, people have been forced to make political trade-offs for control of their own boroughs and have not created city-wide coalitions.

During the late 1960s, a fight over decentralization of schools occurred in New York City. What affect do you think the fight had on black political development?

Most respondents felt it had a positive affect on the growth of black political power, but some noted it splintered the black-Jewish coalition (which has remained apart since the late sixties, except in a few individual instances). As Borough President Dinkins said, the school decentralization issue "spawned many political figures. It taught us organization, Robert's Rules of Order, and how to give speeches. From there it was just a step to becoming involved in the political process." Professor Hamilton and others noted that the fight was damaging because it destroyed the black-Jewish coalition, which one respondent said was "mandatory" for a black candidate to win. One winning coalition was put together by Manhattan Borough President Dinkins, who was supported by 90 percent of blacks, 79 percent of Hispanics, 68 percent of Asians, and 50 percent of whites (primarily Jews). Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago won with similar coalitions, though the distribution of support was different.

During the "War on Poverty," New York City received more anti-poverty funds than any other city. What impact did this have on black political development?

All the interviewees, except Professor Hamilton and Councilman Clark, felt the anti-poverty programs had a positive effect. Clark said the programs "had the effect of de-politicizing the black community" by creating a "welfare mentality" of looking for a hand-out instead of organizing for substantive change that would benefit the entire black community. Professor Hamilton said: "A lot of attention which could have been turned to a mayoral campaign, or to capturing a seat, was centered on capturing 'soft-dollar' grants."

Concluding Remarks

Though a March 16, 1987, column by *New York Times* reporter Sam Roberts refers to "fragmentation" among New York's black politicians as one reason for their lack of progress, our interviews produced no evidence of this. It would appear that several factors, most prominently the lack of effective coalition-building (especially between blacks and Jews), have contributed to the turnaround in the fortunes of New York blacks. As more and more New Yorkers (black and white) begin to discuss these issues, as they have been doing in recent months, the prospects for coalition-building will grow and so, too, will the opportunities for blacks to recapture a leadership position in the front lines of black politics. ■

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **With Jesse Jackson's new presidential campaign strategy of de-emphasizing race, he faces the same problem as the other Democratic presidential contenders: how to ensure a high black turnout and win white votes at the same time.**

- **In a likely rematch between Mayor Wilson Goode and former Mayor Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's black voters seem ready to set aside their criticisms of the incumbent and vote to reelect him.**

- **In the Baltimore mayoral race, a poor showing in the early polls led to the withdrawal of the sole white candidate—leaving Baltimoreans to choose between two blacks for the first time in its history.**

- **Across the nation, conservative political economist, Glenn Loury will take the No.2 position in the Department of Education; D.C. Statehood legislation got a boost from House Speaker Jim Wright; and veteran black Mayors Richard Arrington of Birmingham and Richard Hatcher of Gary face challenges to their reelection.**

- **Election update: In the April 7 general election, incumbent Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago was re-elected to a second term.**

Jesse Jackson's Gamble: De-emphasizing Race Issues

As more and more pieces of JESSE JACKSON's presidential campaign strategy are revealed to the public, **the ironic conclusion is that Jackson might end up sharing a common problem with other Democratic hopefuls: how to produce a heavy black voter turnout and win the white vote at the same time.** Sources close to Jackson report that this time around he does not intend to highlight race-specific issues, e.g., the second primary, delegate-selection, or affirmative action, as he did in 1984. **Like the other announced or potential Democratic contenders, Jackson has also agreed to heed Democratic National Committee Chairman PAUL KIRK's appeal to "love thy fellow Democrat" and to obey his four commandments:** 1) do not criticize personal characteristics of candidates; 2) do not invoke the "special interests" label against Democratic constituency groups—especially organized labor; 3) do not ever criticize the party or squabble over convention rules; and 4) do pledge to strongly support the eventual Democratic nominee. . .Instead of a race-specific campaign, **Jackson is stressing issues of economic populism which increase his appeal to farmers and low-income whites as well as to blacks.** In searching for common ground between blacks and whites, Jackson's decision to focus on economic issues seems to be a smart one: **a JCPS/Gallup poll in August 1986 found that blacks and whites agreed that "unemployment" and "the high cost of living" were two of the top three issues on the national agenda.** (Drug abuse was the third.). . .However, by not campaigning on race-specific issues, is Jackson in danger of losing his support among blacks? Recent survey data, though it is not conclusive on this point, offers little encouragement for Jackson. For example, **while Jackson was the choice of 52 percent of blacks in twelve southern states in a March 1987 poll** (conducted by the Roper Organization for the *Atlanta Constitution and Journal),* **he had been the choice of 75 percent of southern blacks in an August 1986 JCPS/Gallup poll.** The *Atlanta Constitution and Journal* poll also showed that only 7 percent of white southerners and 30 percent of Hispanic southerners picked Jackson as their first choice. . .Overall, Jackson is running second to Gary Hart in the South and across the nation. A March 5th ABC/*Washington Post* poll showed Hart as the choice of 46 percent of respondents, followed by Jackson as the choice of 14 percent. Among southerners, the *Atlanta Constitution/Atlanta Journal* poll showed 35 percent favored Hart and 21 percent favored Jackson.

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Meanwhile, **rumors persist that Mayor ANDREW YOUNG (D-Atlanta) is willing to participate in a "favorite son" movement to encourage black mayors of big cities to run for president on their home turf.** This would, of course, drain votes from Jackson and may prevent him from becoming the only or chief broker for black interests in next year's presidential contest. **Young has already announced he will not support Jackson in the primaries. Other black leaders on record as not supporting Jackson include Alabama Democratic Conference Chairman JOE REED, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Charlotte Mayor HARVEY GANTT, and Little Rock Mayor LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD. Most of this group did not support Jackson in 1984, but their constituencies did**. . .Though his strategy of de-emphasizing race may be sound, Jackson still faces huge obstacles in his attempt to attract whites to his camp—while not losing the support of the black voters who made his earlier campaign an historic event.

Rematch With Rizzo: Is Incumbent Goode Enough To Win?

The goodwill and high hopes that marked WILSON GOODE's historic 1983 election as Philadelphia's first black mayor have disappeared in the dark clouds of the MOVE bombing and the recent incidents of racial violence in the city. Perhaps sensing that these developments make the incumbent vulnerable, **former Mayor FRANK RIZZO is back in the running. In 1983, Rizzo and Goode fought a tough battle in the Democratic primary, which Goode won with 54 percent of the vote. This year Rizzo is running as a Republican—and appealing to white Democrats to crossover to the GOP to support him in the GOP primary and in the general election.** (The deadline for changing party affiliation is April 20, 1987.) This will increase Goode's share of Democratic voters in the primary because Democrats who crossover would not have supported him in any case. Yet, Rizzo's challenge is made stronger now than it was in 1983 because, in the general election, he can now count on the votes of the crossover Democrats who supported him in 1983 and also the Republicans who could not vote for him in the Democratic primary at that time. . . **Before he faces Rizzo, Goode must defeat his primary opponent, a liberal former Democratic district attorney named EDWARD RENDELL.** Already sparks are flying in this contest. One charge against Rendell, made public by former mayoral candidate CHARLES BOWSER, a black attorney, is that Rendell has reneged on a promise to stay out of the mayoral race in exchange for black support in Rendell's failed quest for the governorship last year. (The winner was Democrat BOB CASEY.) **In a widely circulated newsletter article, Bowser called Rendell a "liar" and castigated his black supporters as "Uncle Toms."** . . .With Rizzo pulling white Democrats out of the party, blacks will number close to 50 percent of the registered Democrats—up from 42 percent in 1983. If the turnout is as high as it has been in past elections (over 90 percent), Goode should win the primary. Two questions still must be answered, however. **First, are blacks willing to vote for Goode after the MOVE debacle? The answer appears to be "yes."** For one thing, Goode's primary opponent, Rendell, is not free of the MOVE taint: he was the district attorney at the time of the bombing and did nothing to distance himself from the Goode administration. But, more importantly, though Goode is still judged harshly for his MOVE-related actions (e.g., he "bungled" in his appointment of the police commissioner who approved the bombing, he "waffled" at the hearings of the independent panel of inquiry), the fallout seems to have been contained. **According to Dr. SANDRA FEATHERMAN, a Temple University political scientist, blacks' antagonism toward Goode is fading and black voters will unify behind him to prevent the defeat of Philadelphia's first black mayor (or the re-election of Rizzo, who has been accused by blacks of racism). . .The second question is whether whites will support Goode.** In 1983, about 18 percent of white voters actually supported Goode, though about 25-30 percent told pollsters they did so. Some white support probably came from "anti-Rizzo" liberals. This time, says one political analyst, the liberal whites seem likely to vote for Rendell though Goode may get about the same percentage of white support as he did the last time. . .In the Republican primary, Rizzo, faces a weak opponent, JOHN EGAN, who was also the Republican nominee in the general election in 1983 when he lost to Goode. . .**If the mayoral race becomes a rematch between Goode and Rizzo, a large, unified black vote is likely to be the key to a Goode victory. Black Philadelphians may be up to the challenge: as Dr. Featherman, the political scientist, says, "they are among the most advanced and sophisticated black electorate in the country: registration is almost 100 percent, turnout is almost equal to white turnout, they split tickets effectively, and they know who their friends and enemies are."** . . .In a final twist, Charles Bowser, an unsuccessful black mayoral candidate in

1975 and 1979, has pledged to run as an independent in the general election if Goode is defeated in the primary. With blacks numbering 39 percent of the electorate, Bowser could run a credible race against the two white candidates, Rizzo and Rendell . . . **The primaries are set for May 19, 1987.**

Schmoke Takes Big, Early Lead in Baltimore

A WMAR-TV poll in early March carried the bad news to mayoral candidate ROBERT EMBRY that only 6 percent of the sampled voters would support his candidacy. Heeding the message, Embry quit the race a few days later—**thereby ensuring that Baltimoreans would create history in September by electing the city's first black mayor, either the incumbent (appointed) mayor, CLARENCE (DU) BURNS, or his opponent, State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE** (see the February *TL* for more on the candidates' backgrounds). At this early stage, Schmoke holds a towering 53 percent to 25 percent lead over Burns, with 22 percent undecided. Schmoke, whose enthusiasm for the city ("I believe in Baltimore") may rival that of departed Mayor (and current Governor) Donald Schaefer, had more support than Burns among blacks (65 percent to 16 percent), whites (40 percent to 35 percent), liberals (62 percent to 21 percent), moderates (46 percent to 28 percent), and conservatives (53 percent to 25 percent). **If Burns was looking for a silver lining to this message, there was none: the poll also showed that an endorsement by Burns' mentor, Governor Schaefer, would have "no effect on the decision of 78 percent of the sampled voters.** Burns' only hope is his highly praised political organization. Whether this is enough seems doubtful but Burns, who got his nick-name (Du) for his "can-do" spirit ("it's Du-able," is a phrase he often uses), no doubt will continue to believe that "it ain't over, till it's over." . . **Both candidates have declared education to be a top priority. . .** For Baltimore's black population, which has been tantalized since 1971 by the prospect of a black mayor, the good news runneth over: **Embry's withdrawal removes the necessity of choosing between a white ally and two black candidates; Schmoke's ascendancy has been eagerly anticipated; and the choice between two blacks is a reversal of the conventional wisdom that "most assuredly, there must be only one serious black candidate."** . . The primary will be held on September 15, 1987.

Glenn Loury To Join Reagan's Education Department

GLENN LOURY, a conservative black political economist, has beeen nominated as undersecretary of education, according to administration sources. Loury has been a vocal advocate of self-help among blacks. His views are said to complement those of Education Secretary WILLIAM J. BENNETT. **Loury opposes preferential treatment for minorities, arguing that disadvantaged blacks in America must help themselves rather than rely on government assistance to improve their economic and social situation.** While he does not deny the need for government programs, he stresses the importance of moral leadership among minorities and criticizes the black middle class and civil rights leadership for not providing it. In a 1985 *Washington Post* op-ed article, **Loury said: "The great barrier to progress for blacks today is not an 'enemy without' that denies opportunity to blacks because of racism, but an 'enemy within' that keeps our young people from taking advantage of the opportunities available to all Americans."** Currently a Harvard professor, Loury is being supported by conservatives such as Leslie Lenkowsky, president of the Washington-based Institute of Educational Affairs, who has called his appointment "magnificent." **The NAACP, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other civil rights groups have said they will vigorously oppose Loury's confirmation in the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee hearings.**

ELECTION UPDATE: In a contest marred by bitter fighting among his three white opponents, Mayor Harold Washington easily won re-election to a second four-year term with 53 percent of the vote, according to early unofficial returns. Washington received about 99 percent of the black vote and 20 percent of the white vote. About 1.1 million, or 72 percent, of Chicago's 1.6 million registered voters cast ballots—less than the 80 percent who voted in 1983.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA. In mid-February, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Alabama Democratic Conference executive director JOE REED, Atlanta City Councilman HOSEA WILLIAMS, and potential presidential contender Rev. JESSE JACKSON **led a march in Montgomery of more than 2,500 protesters, mostly black, to protest the decline in the number of blacks holding key posts—primarily legislative committee chairmanships**—in the new state government elected last November. According to one Montgomery reporter, the protest has not produced any changes. He said "They flew in some people and Jesse showed up. But that was it. There've been no changes in committee assignments."

In other news, **Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington is up for reelection on October 13, with a runoff, if needed, three weeks later. Arrington is finishing his 8th year as the city's first black mayor.** Arrington, says a newspaper reporter, "would be a strong favorite no matter who emerged to oppose him, though it's hard to imagine him getting away without some white running against him." His most likely opponent is two-term council member Betty Collins. A conservative, Ms. Collins is from Birmingham's white, middle-class, eastern area. Arrington is a good bet for reelection because, first, the city's population has grown increasingly black—pushing 60 percent—and the mayor has a strong organization, the New South Coalition, that can deliver the black vote to him or to candidates he supports. Second, Arrington has made inroads into the white community. He gets a significant vote from Forest Park, "where yuppie types have moved in in the last 20 years and rebuilt old houses," says the reporter. "They're not the type to respond to race-baiting."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Statehood for the District of Columbia may be the surprise issue in the 100th Congress, if predictions by Speaker JIM WRIGHT and Majority Leader TOM FOLEY are to be believed. **Both have predicted that the House of Representatives will pass H.R.51, introduced by Congressman WALTER FAUNTROY (D), the non-voting delegate from the District of Columbia.** Prospects in the Senate are less certain, though Fauntroy claims that the Democrats' 55-45 majority in the Senate has created "a fleeting window of opportunity" for his bill. **The new legislation became necessary when the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment (enacted in 1978) expired in 1985 after failing to be ratified by three-fourths of the states, as required by the Constitution.**

FLORIDA. A potential candidate to oppose the re-election of XAVIER SUAREZ, Miami's first Cuban-American mayor, is ARTHUR TEELE, Jr. **Teele is a black attorney with ties to the Reagan administration.** His assets are that he is wealthy, that he might appeal to black voters in Miami's tripartite political factionalism (black, Cuban, Anglo), and that he is "well-connected downtown." (Teele is a member of the influential law firm of Sparber, Shevin, Shapo, & Heilbronner and is president of the National Business League, which was founded by Booker T. Washington.) **Teele, however, could be hurt among blacks by his Republicanism—especially if he runs as a Reaganite instead of as a moderate. He would also have trouble pulling Cuban votes from Suarez.** In addition, Anglos—non-Hispanic whites—aren't especially antagonistic to Suarez. The election is November 1, with a runoff on November 10. **Miami is 17 percent black.**

INDIANA. Inflammatory remarks by Michigan Congressman John Conyers have lit up the Gary mayoral race between incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher and Calumet Township Assessor Thomas Barnes. **While attending a $1,000 per-couple fundraiser for Hatcher in early March, Conyers said, "The corporate structure always sends someone to test [Hatcher], but he has been victorious five times and I'm sure he will do it a sixth time. Where do those little opportunists spring up?"** Needless to say, Barnes and his supporters were far from delighted by Conyers' remark. State Rep. Earline Rogers blasted national black leaders "who parade into [Gary] every four years to endorse Richard Hatcher," and requested them to stop making negative comments about challengers they know nothing about. Barnes, in a letter to Conyers explaining why he was running, **requested an apology and asked, "who are you and what do you know about Gary?"**

MISSISSIPPI. Although blacks comprise 35 percent of Mississippi's population, **only 1 percent of the state's 100 state court trial judges are black.** Blacks in the state have long argued that the reason for such gross underrepresentation was the system of at-large county elections. On April 1, 1987, a federal district judge agreed with their claims. **In the first lawsuit challenging at-large judicial elections under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law** (aided by several other legal groups and black lawyers) **won two consolidated cases challenging at-large elections in Hines (Jackson) and Yazoo (Yazoo City) counties.** Lawsuits challenging at-large judicial elections are pending in Louisiana and North Carolina.

NEW JERSEY. As former Newark Mayor KENNETH GIBSON put to rest rumors he would throw his hat in the ring for the 10th district congressional seat held by PETER RODINO, **Newark councilman RALPH GRANT declared his candidacy for the seat in early March.** Grant was first elected to the Newark council in 1978 and was reelected in 1982 and 1986. **Also expected to run is Newark Councilman DONALD PAYNE, who was supported by Jesse Jackson in 1986 in his bid for the 10th district seat.** The 77-year-old Rodino said he would retire after completing his current term.

LAWRENCE M. LAWSON, formerly the first black mayor of the township of Neptune, was sworn-in in January to a seven year appointment to the New Jersey Superior Court. **Lawson is the first black superior court justice in Monmouth County's history.**

SOUTH CAROLINA. LESSIE PRICE became the first woman on the Aiken City Council. Price, a senior supervisor in the personnel department of DuPont, has been involved in politics nearly 15 years. During that time, she campaigned for former Governor RICHARD RILEY, former Lieutenant Governor NANCY STEVENSON, and for former city councilmember WILLAR HIGHTOWER. Price followed the route most black women take to elective office, i.e., working first in the campaigns of others. According to the Center for the Study of American Women, black women elected officials have more political experience when elected than do black men, white women, and white men.

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

by Katherine McFate

The desire to move welfare recipients off the welfare rolls and into the labor market is at the heart of the various "welfare reform" bills that are making their debut in the U.S. House of Representatives and in the Senate. After years of debating the merits of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), liberals and conservatives finally agree that government assistance to poor families should involve more than simply support payments.

Research and demonstration projects carried out in the past decade have generated a great deal of information that bears on this issue. From this, one can extrapolate the necessary (but perhaps not sufficient) elements of an effective welfare-to-work program.

The Key Elements

FOCUS ON LONG-TERM WELFARE RECIPIENTS. Analyses by Professors David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane of Harvard University show that the majority of families that receive AFDC are on the welfare rolls for a total of less than 4 years. Many of these families leave the welfare rolls in less than 2 years without any special help. However, about a quarter of all AFDC recipients will spend 10 years or more on AFDC—and it is these families that receive the bulk of poverty program expenditures (AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid). ***A program aimed at reducing the size of the welfare rolls and the cost of AFDC** must target long-term welfare recipients, not the individuals who will leave the system in a relatively short time even if they do not receive any special attention.*

REMEDIAL EDUCATION. Improving basic skills must be a central feature of any welfare-to-work program for the long-term AFDC recipient. Studies show that over 60 percent of all AFDC recipients are high school dropouts. Half of the AFDC recipients required to register for the Work Incentive Program in 1983 had math and reading skills

(Continued on p. 8)

Legislative Prospects

Though welfare reform got off to a fast start in the 100th Congress, the finish line is not in sight. The House and Senate are on two entirely different tracks with no obvious points of convergence.

The House bill, sponsored by Congressman Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) and known as the Family Support Plan, is a comprehensive welfare reform package that includes all the items discussed in the main text of this article as well as new child support legislation. The price tag will be substantially more than the cost of existing programs.

The Senate bill, introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and known as Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals (JEDI), seeks to create new financial incentives for the administrators of local Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and Work Incentive (WIN) programs, but basically leaves the current AFDC system intact.

The White House-supported plan, "GReater Opportunities through Work" (GROW), provides no added funds for remedial education or job training. Under GROW, states that do not force all AFDC recipients to participate in some kind of job search, training, or workfare activity would be penalized.

The welfare-to-work legislative debate is shaping up to be a struggle among Democrats in the House, and also between those in the House and their counterparts in the Senate. Ford's bill must make its way through four House committees before it reaches the floor. Kennedy's bill will have to wait for the Finance Committee to finish mark-up of trade and catastrophic health insurance legislation before a job training/welfare reform bill will be considered.

In the meantime, legislators and observers are waiting for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) to unveil his own welfare reform package in the Senate and for Congressman Gus Hawkins to introduce his own version of a job training bill in the House. Each new bill will probably increase exponentially the amount of time required to reach a compromise within each chamber and in conference committees.

In fact, the finish line for welfare reform legislation may be getting further and further away.

The author is a research associate at JCPS. Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS, contributed to the analysis of the legislative proposals.

Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

by Margaret C. Simms

In December 1986, as the U.S. economy entered the fifth year of the current recovery, the unemployment rate for blacks was 14.5 percent—down from 15.1 percent in 1985 and 19.5 percent in 1983. Over the entire recovery (which began after the 1981-82 recession) blacks had a 19 percent increase in employment, with a net increase of 1.8 million jobs held by black workers for the four-year period. Black employment increased by 330,000 in 1986 alone. Job growth was much slower for whites, who only increased their employment by 10 percent over this four-year period (for a gain of 8.9 million jobs).

The recent gains have allowed blacks to recover only some of the ground that they had lost in the earlier recession, during which their unemployment rate rose from 13.0 percent in January 1980 to 20.9 percent in December 1982. The unemployment rate for 1986 was still over twice the 6.0 percent rate for white workers. Moreover, the labor force participation rate (see box for explanation) of black workers still lags behind that of white workers, so overall joblessness among blacks is even higher, relative to whites, than the unemployment rates imply. In addition, blacks are more likely to have part-time jobs for economic reasons and tend to hold lower status and lower paying jobs. Black families have fewer wage earners than white families, which further exacerbates the differences in earnings.

Part-time Jobs

Having a job does not mean having a full-time job. Some people choose to work part-time because they are combining market work with some other activity such as school or work in the home. This is more likely to be the case for youth and for women. However, not everyone works part-time by choice. Some do so involuntarily, because they are unable to find full-time work or because their regular (full-time) employer has reduced the work hours for economic reasons.

Looking at figures on part-time work, we find that black males were somewhat more likely to be working part-time than white males. However, the percentage of black women and black teens in part-time work was lower than that of their white counterparts. If we look only at involuntary part-time work, all black groups were more likely than their white counterparts to be working part-time. For adult men and for all teens, blacks were almost twice as likely to be working part-time for economic reasons than whites. Among women, blacks were about 1.5 times as likely to be working part-time involuntarily.

Longer Unemployment

An economist once said that six percent unemployment would not be so bad, if it meant that everyone was unemployed only six percent of the time. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Not only are unemployment rates higher among blacks than among whites, black workers are unemployed for longer periods of time. Of those who were unemployed in December 1986, about one-fourth of the whites and one-third of the blacks had been unemployed for more than 15

Employment-to-Population Ratios, 1982-86

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Whites	58.2	60.0	60.8	61.3	61.8
Men	**72.0**	**73.7**	**74.4**	**74.4**	**74.6**
Women	48.2	49.6	50.4	51.4	52.3
Male Teens	**45.9**	**49.3**	**50.2**	**49.2**	**49.2**
Female Teens	43.7	46.3	46.9	47.2	48.3
Blacks	48.8	50.3	53.5	53.9	54.4
Men	**60.0**	**63.3**	**64.8**	**64.6**	**65.7**
Women	47.3	47.3	51.1	51.8	51.7
Male Teens	**19.5**	**21.3**	**24.7**	**27.0**	**26.6**
Female Teens	19.2	17.1	22.3	22.1	24.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, February 1987.

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weeks. The longest periods of unemployment were for black men, who averaged nearly 22 weeks of unemployment.

Family Status

Being unemployed is also not so bad if you are in a family where others have jobs. Here again blacks are disadvantaged. Seven percent of all black families had no employed member in the household and 10 percent had at least one member who was in the labor force but did not have a job. Among white families, the rates were 2.2 percent and 5.9 percent, respectively.

The problems were more severe for female-headed families than for married-couple families. Three-quarters of husbands in both racial groups were in the labor force at the end of 1986. While black husbands had higher unemployment rates than white husbands (7.2 percent versus 3.7 percent), they were slightly more likely than the whites to be in families where someone else was working—which helps to stabilize family income. On the other hand, black women who headed households had lower labor force participation rates than white women who headed households in 1986. Furthermore, their unemployment rates were twice as high and they were less likely to have another member of the household working. These low employment rates partially explain the low absolute and relative economic status of families headed by black women.

Types of Jobs

The economic condition of families is not just a function of whether family members are employed or not. It is also a function of the types of jobs individual family members hold and what those jobs pay. As the table on this page shows, black workers who were employed at the end of 1986 were much more likely to be in occupations that paid low weekly wages, which compounded the fact that they had fewer workers in their families. Overall, the median weekly earnings of black married-couple families was $503, compared with $615 for white married-couple families. Black families headed by women had median earnings of only $267 in contrast with earnings of $320 for white female-headed families.

Occupational Distribution of Employed Workers,

December 1986, by Race and Gender

Men

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**26.0%**	**12.9%**	**$608**
Technical	20.9	16.2	$437
Service	**8.7**	**18.3**	**$284**
Precision	20.6	16.1	$418
Operatives	**19.6**	**33.3**	**$332**
Farming	4.1	3.3	$220

Women

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**25.3%**	**17.5%**	**$414**
Technical	46.4	38.3	$282
Service	**16.7**	**28.5**	**$191**
Precision	2.4	2.5	$277
Operatives	**8.2**	**12.9**	**$225**
Farming	1.0	0.3	$187

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings, January 1987.*

Still A Long Way To Go

An examination of the current statistics shows that while blacks have benefited from the economic recovery, they still have a long way to go before their labor market status approaches that of whites. Blacks are less likely to be employed, more likely to have part-time jobs when they want full-time employment, and they receive lower wages even when they are employed full-time. Moreover, structural changes in the economy (the types of jobs that are created and the industries in which job growth takes place) may have an adverse effect on many black workers. These issues will be taken up in a future issue of *Focus.* ■

Measure for Measure, Joblessness Still High

Three indicators are used by economists to measure status in the labor market. The most well-known is the unemployment rate, which shows the percentage of people who are unable to find jobs though they are actively seeking employment. A shortcoming of this measure is that it does not count those who are not looking for work.

Another measure is the labor force participation rate, which counts those who are employed or looking for employment. In recent years, black men have had lower rates of labor force participation than white men (72.2 percent versus 76.9 percent, in 1986), while black women have had higher labor force participation rates than those of white women (56.9 percent versus 55.0 percent, in 1986). Many people leave the labor force because they have given up on finding a job. In the fourth quarter of 1986 (October through December), over a million workers had been out of the labor force for about one year. Seventy-five percent of these these out-of-work workers were too discouraged to look for jobs because they felt they could not find them. Blacks, only one-tenth of the labor force, were 26 percent of these discouraged workers.

A third measure is the employment-to-population ratio or the proportion of a particular group that has a job. The box on page 6 shows the year-end employment-to-population ratios for whites and blacks for the past five years, covering the entire recovery period. As can be seen, both whites and blacks increased their rates of job-holding in the past five years. Among males, black youth and adults gained jobs at a more rapid rate than whites and the gap in the employment-to-population ratios fell. Among females, increases in job-holding rates were quite similar for both racial groups. Overall, the black-white employment gap dropped from 9.4 percentage points in 1982 to 7.4 percentage points in December of 1986. Even so, three-quarters of white men had jobs last year compared to only two-thirds of black men. Among teenagers, one-half of whites had jobs while only one-quarter of blacks did.

Welfare to Work

(Continued from p. 5)

below the ninth grade level. *It is estimated that as many as three-quarters of able-bodied, long-term AFDC recipients are functionally illiterate.* If these women are going to actively participate in a changing U.S. labor market, they must have a good basic education that will allow them to adapt to different work environments and learn new skills.

JOB TRAINING AND PLACEMENT. Most of the women who have been receiving welfare for a long period have had little or no contact with the labor market. These women will need job training to be attractive to private employers. *To be economically independent, they must learn skills that allow them to earn more than the minimum wage.* A woman working 40 hours a week for 50 weeks a year would need to earn at least $4.40 an hour to earn more than the poverty level for a family of three.

Most long-term AFDC recipients will also need assistance with job placement. Demonstration projects sponsored by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) have shown that many of these women are highly motivated and want to work, but simply do not know how to go about finding a job.

SUPPORT SERVICES. Evidence from the Supported Work experiments showed that three problems plagued AFDC recipients in work or training programs: child care, medical care, and transportation costs. *Given the high cost of child care today and the relatively low wages these women will command in the labor market, subsidizing necessary child care costs for some period after employment begins is a necessary part of making work an attractive (or even affordable) alternative to welfare. Extending Medicaid benefits for at least a year after employment begins is also an important component of the transition to work.*

Two other inequities in the current AFDC system, while not directly related to the welfare-to-work initiative, are also in need of reform. First, about half the states allow two-parent families in which both parents are unemployed to receive AFDC. In the other states, only a single parent can receive aid. This rule, at the very least, does not *encourage* the formation and stability of two-parent families, and may in fact *discourage* men from staying with their families during a period of hardship. *Extending the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) rule to all states should be a part of any comprehensive reform of the welfare system.*

Second, the amount of financial assistance a family receives is calculated on the basis of "standards of need" which are determined by the states.

Seven states (most of them in the South) have need standards that are less than 50 percent of the federal poverty level. *A common formula for calculating need standards based on local costs of living should be developed and applied across the country.*

The Bottom Line

Although reform of the AFDC system has picked up momentum in the 100th Congress, the commitment of legislators to a comprehensive reform package may be tested by the price tag that will accompany various initiatives. Both the Ford and Kennedy bills (see box) create financial incentives for states to place long-term welfare recipients in permanent jobs. Sponsors of both bills claim that though the legislation will result in an immediate increase in the costs of welfare programs, the long-run impact will be to save public money as former welfare clients become tax-paying employees. However, it is not clear that a fiscally conservative Congress will be willing to increase investments in the public assistance programs when the payoff may not be evident for a number of years. ■

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FOCUS

The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies

Minority Engineers Will Play Key Role in 21st Century Economy

But Technical Illiteracy Limits Current Applicant Pool

Affirmative Action Approved Again

Even Without Admitting Prior Wrongs, Employers Can Seek to Integrate Work Place

Contracting Regulations to Be Expedited

Let DOD Know Public Is "Paying Attention," Supporters Say

POLITICAL *TRENDLETTER*

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

COMPASS: A Tool to Determine Community Needs

As a member of the Board of Governors of the United Way of America (UWA), I have the privilege of chairing a national task force which is seeking to develop more effective ways to determine the needs of the communities it serves. Given the dramatic cutbacks in the programs that serve the needy, the task of assessing the areas of greatest need has become more and more necessary.

We do not need a fortune teller to predict that blacks and other minorities will continue to be among those most profoundly affected by cuts in federal spending. It is still true that those with the least will suffer the most.

A dismal forecast? Yes, but it is just that: a forecast. We *can* change the outcome. We *can* ensure that black interests are protected. We *can* make our needs known.

An effective means of making our needs known is through the system developed by the United Way and called COMPASS. It is a complete system for analysing community problems and putting together a realistic plan of action. COMPASS goes beyond traditional needs assessments that, typically, have a narrow focus. It is designed to get the *whole* community involved in looking at local issues. It lets us see the big picture on need, not just a slice of the pie. Moreover, COMPASS does not end with a mere assessment of needs; it helps communities develop a comprehensive plan for addressing problems once they have been identified.

COMPASS was developed by the United Way of America with a grant from the Gannett Foundation and with substantial input from the Urban Institute. As chairman of the committee which was responsible for producing the COMPASS package, I can tell you that we looked at literally hundreds of different needs assessments and took the best of each one. I can assure you, COMPASS works.

The program is designed for use by *any community organization, of any size, and no matter what its budget*. The entire package consists of:

- a how-to manual for bringing the community together to look at local needs and to design a realistic plan of action;
- materials for gathering and analyzing current social and economic data;
- three survey approaches; and
- necessary computer software.

We know that the needs in our communities are overwhelming, and we know that government funding cuts are an unavoidable part of the future economic landscape. In my view, one of our great needs is a tool such as COMPASS that will enable us to put the needs of the black community in perspective for our communities and for the nation as a whole. COMPASS can help dispel the myth that what happens in our nation's inner cities concerns only those who live there. More important, COMPASS can give us a blueprint for taking steps to correct inequities in funding and to ensure that we use our limited resources to address our most pressing problems.

To get more information on COMPASS, please contact Jack White, United Way of America, 701 N. Fairfax St., Alexandria, Va. 22314. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

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Minority Engineers Will Play Key Role in 21st Century Economy

But Technical Illiteracy Limits Current Applicant Pool

by Richard F. Neblett

In its glimpse of the 21st century, the National Alliance for Business's *Employment Policies: Looking to the Year 2000,* predicts that changing demographics, new technology, and stiff international competition will cause "pervasive mismatches between workplace needs and workforce capabilities." At stake is America's ability to compete in the technological arena and the success of American products in world markets. Ironically, our dependence upon technical literacy for economic growth comes just as the white male population—traditional breeding ground for the science establishment—is shrinking and the minority population is experiencing extraordinary growth.

According to Harold L. Hodgkinson in his 1985 study, *All One System: Demographics of Education, Kindergarten through Graduate School,* "by around the year 2000, America will be a nation in which one of every three of us will be non-white." The unavoidable conclusion is that more minorities must be brought into science and math-based fields *now.*

Promoting Minority Participation

This conclusion is not new. Almost 15 years ago, concerned industry leaders created NACME, the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering, to funnel dollars as well as human resources towards promoting participation in engineering among blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians—all seriously underrepresented in the field. Equally important, these leaders designed a model for intervention which fostered a broad coalition of similarly dedicated institutions: school systems, universities, corporations, professional societies, minority groups, and local programs—collectively called the minority engineering effort.

The Effort, as it is known, has made remarkable progress relative to the progress made in other disciplines. In *Report to the Field, A Descriptive Analysis of Programs and Trends in Engineering Education for Minority Students,* Edmund W. Gordon and his colleagues at Yale University's Institution for Social and Policy Studies found that "the field currently attracts about 50 percent of all minority students identified as academically very well prepared for college." How, then, do we remain far short of our long-range goal of parity: minority representation among engineering graduates proportionate to minority representation in the college-age population?

As Gordon points out, 57 percent of all black students scoring over 910 on their Scholastic Aptitude Tests picked engineering as their first choice of major. Although the percentage is high, this amounts to only 2,417 students. Clearly, the problem is not our ability to place able minority students on the engineering career trajectory; the problem is the size of the pool from which we must draw.

> ***If we agree that a generation lost to the labor force means the devastation of our economy, where is the unified outcry from parents, community leaders, educators, and. . . legislators?***

Given the figures, it is fair to say that the low percentage of minority students who are considered academically "very well prepared" is an indictment of both inner-city and rural public education establishments. This dismal failure was underscored by the National Science Board Commission on Pre-College Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology. "The nation that dramatically and boldly led the world into the age of technology," it declared, "is failing to provide its own children with the intellectual tools needed for the 21st century."

If we agree that a generation lost to the labor force means the devastation of our economy, where is the unified outcry from parents, community leaders, educators, and—guardians of the public good—legislators? After a flurry of reports about the mediocrity of our educational system, the response has been long on talk and shamefully short on action.

Special Programs

Yet, the achievements of students in minority engineering programs (MEPs) around the country suggest a clear means to improve the delivery of public education. "These programs, although originated as affirmative actions aimed at equal opportunity, have proven that they address the fundamental national issue of

(Cont. on page 4)

Richard F. Neblett is president of the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering.

Minority Engineers

(Cont. from page 3)

international competitiveness in the new global marketplace of information technology," stated Thomas L. Martin, Jr., president of the Illinois Institute of Technology. "They are models of what can be done to, and with, our educational establishment to move America into its familiar role of industrial and technological leadership."

Exactly how have MEPs achieved such impressive results? Perhaps most importantly, MEPs tell students they can achieve in science and math-based fields, and then they give them the opportunity to do so. High expectations, combined with the student's confidence in his/her ability to perform, have tremendous influence in communities where few young people have family and friends in technological careers. Teachers who deliver such a message can combat the self-fulfilling prophecies of negativism and incompetence that are the product of racial stereotyping.

The efficacy of this technique was noted recently by researchers who studied schooling in Japan. One of the major factors identified as predisposing children toward high achievement was the attitude commonly held by educators, parents, and students that all children can excel if they are willing to work hard.

Higher Level Courses

While it may be stating the obvious, one of the ways MEPs get results is by offering higher level courses in science and mathematics to minority students. Studies consistently conclude that low-income minority youths perform poorly on SAT tests because they simply have not been exposed to the course work. This is a problem that must be addressed long before high school. The public elementary school system must expect all students to be able to pursue advanced math and science and must offer the basic education that is a prerequisite to study in these areas.

> ***After a flurry of reports about the mediocrity of our educational system, the response has been long on talk and shamefully short on action.***

MEPs bring practicing engineers and university faculty into the high school classroom to supplement the standard curriculum. In addition to acting as role models, these professionals can bring much needed expertise to advanced instruction.

MEPs place a special emphasis on exposing students to role models. This includes having visiting lecturers on school faculties and actively recruiting minority teachers for school systems. Such a commitment, of course, means offering competitive salaries, a career ladder, and early career guidance. It also means that we must ensure a supply of able teachers by substantially improving the nation's teacher-training efforts. And, as the lure of industry shrinks the number of qualified people who choose to become teachers of science and mathematics, public education must also look beyond traditional sources to draw competent teachers. Alternative licensing programs now being piloted by foresighted school boards may, in fact, be the wave of the future.

> ***The achievements of students in minority engineering programs (MEPs) around the country suggest a clear means to improve the delivery of public education.***

Finally, MEPs involve parents in their children's education. If the lessons of the MEPs are extended to the entire educational system, we will be obliged to address both sides of the coin. Schools will have to be exhorted to draw parents into the educational process. At the same time, parents will have to exhibit genuine concern for their children's schooling and will have to be willing to spend time and effort demanding quality education.

We Must Invest Now

The future will not wait while we play a game of educational catch-up. In the words of Tom Martin, president of the Illinois Institute of Technology, "The quality and effectiveness of our educational system is crucial to national survival, and just as that system failed minorities in the past, it is failing the nation today."

While NACME's proprietary interest is minorities in engineering, we recognize that we are part of a much greater educational imperative. The time is right for coalition building, for joining with all others who share similar goals. There are meaningful roles to be played by minority service organizations and churches, by enlightened commerce and industry, and by legislators at all levels. The means exist *now* to inspire and empower America's children. And today's children are the adults who will guide us into the 21st century.

As Morris Tanenbaum, NACME chairman and AT&T vice chairman, noted, "The time when the talents of any fraction of our population could be left undiscovered and underutilized is long past. . . . We must help assure that the tools and technologies of the Information Age are accessible to every segment of society; that they open doors, not close them; that they expand horizons, not limit them; that they truly create new opportunities, not new classes of haves and have-nots. Failure to achieve that accessibility would not only be contrary to our goals but in the longer term it would destroy them." ■

May 1987

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- Richard Hatcher, who was elected in 1967 as one of the nation's first big-city black mayors, was defeated in a close race after serving five four-year terms in Gary, Indiana.
- Mississippi Congressman Mike Espy is getting rave reviews from whites, who may have provided the crucial votes he needed to win.
- Democratic party leaders are targeting conservative, white southerners as part of a "Super-Tuesday" strategy which may be aimed at diluting the black vote.
- While his presidential campaign is still in the exploratory stage, Jesse Jackson is making a special effort to solidify his base among black elected officials.
- At their 18th annual conference in Atlanta, black political scientists assess the gains in black political power.
- Across the nation: Following his reelection, Mayor Harold Washington quickly tightens control over the Chicago city council; Fulton County Commissioner Michael Lomax announces plans to enter the Atlanta mayoral race in 1989; and Philadelphia's May 19 primary features black candidates for mayor, sheriff, and municipal court judge.

Gary Seeks "New Direction" After Hatcher

Following in the footsteps of SHARPE JAMES, who ousted four-term Mayor KENNETH GIBSON in Newark in 1985, **Calumet Township Assessor THOMAS V. BARNES (who is also black) defeated five-term incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER in the May 5 primary in Gary, Indiana.** According to early unofficial returns, Barnes, a former Hatcher ally, received 25,000 votes to Hatcher's 19,000, in an election in which only 50 percent of registered voters cast ballots. In the November 3rd general election, Barnes will face Republican THADDEUS ROMANOWSKI, an insurance company regional manager, who is an underdog in this heavily Democratic, 70 percent black city. . . . **What accounts for Barnes's victory over the nation's longest reigning black mayor, who had been endorsed by JESSE JACKSON, Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON, and Congressmen JOHN CONYERS and WILLIAM CLAY, among others? After 20 years of Hatcher rule, the voters were ready for a change.** As Ohio State political scientist WILLIAM NELSON said recently, "The feeling is that he had too many political debts to be effective." **Barnes, who pledged to move Gary in "new directions," may also have benefited from charges of corruption lodged against several Hatcher aides. Underlying these issues, however, was the massive loss of steel industry jobs, which had a devastating impact on the city.** Barnes exploited this issue, charging that "we've got a city that has just gone to the pits, physically." While Hatcher did not succeed in finding new jobs and new industry to replace the ailing steel mills, Barnes also may find this is no easy task. In the aftermath of the election, though, Barnes appeared optimistic: "People are ready to roll up their sleeves and get to the business of lifting up a city instead of one man. We're going to show people that things in Gary, Indiana, can go right." . . . **Hatcher's defeat does not mean that he will disappear from the public scene. He has always been as much a national leader as mayor of Gary.** Whether he chooses to play a prominent role in Jesse Jackson's potential presidential bid, as he did in 1984, or to increase his visibility in anti-apartheid activities as TransAfrica's chairman of the board, Hatcher is expected to continue his national leadership in black and urban affairs. . . . Meanwhile, Barnes must grapple with the difficult problems that plague Gary in the aftermath of its once mighty steel industry. New directions and new ideas, the Barnes campaign slogan, will certainly be needed. . . . Another victor in Gary was former Congresswoman KATIE HALL, who ran for city clerk.

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Espy Gets Rave Reviews from White Mississippians

A post-election study of voter turnout in Mississippi's 2d Congressional District concludes that **MIKE ESPY, the first black elected to Congress from Mississippi since Reconstruction, won because he drew about 5 percent more white votes in the 1986 election than did State Representative ROBERT CLARK, also black, in his narrow losses in 1982 and 1984.** The study by the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project (VEP) found that **Espy got 12 percent of the white vote and 95 percent of the black vote, compared to 7 percent of the white vote and 94 percent of the black vote for Clark in 1984.** VEP also found very high support for Espy in several predominantly white precincts in his home county of Yazoo: **47 percent in Precinct One and 49.6 percent in Precinct Two.**

Since his election last November, **Espy has been getting rave reviews from some of his white constituents and from the press.** One visitor to Espy's Washington office is quoted in *The Conservative*, of Carrolltown, Mississippi, as saying, "I'm glad to know we've got somebody who really listens to us." **Mayor EMDERY GRUBBS of Vicksburg has also credited Espy with caring about his city and showing a "willingness to fight the system, which is a big plus for us."** Espy, who sought and got a seat on the House Committee on Agriculture, also co-hosted, with Mississippi Democratic Senator JOHN STENNIS, a catfish luncheon to persuade the Department of Defense to put catfish on military menus throughout the world. According to *The Conservative*, "Espy has apparently done even more winning-over of his white constituency by his sincerity and devotion to his job of helping his district with its myriad economic problems.... **Espy seems to be doing what he does best, working hard, but quietly, and it appears to be paying off."**

Some of Espy's key black supporters feel a bit differently, however. One elected official says he has had a hard time getting Espy to answer his mail; the freshmen congressman, he says, is increasingly confused about the nature of his real support. **Yet, most black and white leaders in the district believe that no black will emerge to challenge Espy in 1988 and that he is very likely to be reelected.**

Say, Breaux, Whose Crusade Are You Leading?

As Democratic presidential aspirants ponder strategies for capturing the South—and the 1,307 delegates at stake on "Super-Tuesday," March 8, 1988—**one recent election they should study is the 1986 U.S. Senate race in Louisiana which was won by JOHN BREAUX. In that contest, Breaux got only 39 percent of the white vote but won because 85 percent of blacks supported him. This pattern of winning with the black vote was repeated in senatorial contests in Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina—to name three key southern states** (see *Focus*, November-December 1986). **Yet, Breaux appears to be biting the ballots that elected him. He has endorsed the strategy chosen by the moderate Democratic Leadership Council to woo conservative whites to prevent them from voting Republican in 1988.** Though Breaux should know from experience that a winning strategy is to increase black registration and turnout, he has taken a different path by agreeing to lead a DLC team (part of the DLC's Super-Tuesday Education Project—STEP) committed to wooing conservative whites. DLC officials deny it, **but one theory is that if enough white conservatives return to the Democratic fold they can dilute the impact of the southern black vote—a prospect that Senator Breaux should have warned the DLC is like biting the hand that feeds you.**

While "Testing the Waters," Jackson Touches the Bases

Senator Breaux and the DLC may not be the only Democrats who seem unenthusiastic about overtly courting southern blacks. **Another potential suitor is JESSE JACKSON, whose "Southern Crusade" in 1984 was a key factor in raising black voter registration from 59 percent in 1980 to 66 percent.** This year, however, some Jackson supporters say they are having a hard time impressing upon "the Reverend" that he needs to repeat the Southern Crusade. They point out that in many places, **blacks who voted in 1984 may not be on registration lists in 1988. They are concerned that Jackson may expect southern blacks to support him without a Jackson-led Southern Crusade, and that he might be in for a big surprise.** Jackson's campaign staff insists, however, that he has not neglected southern blacks. On the contrary, **as Jackson's press secretary, FRANK WATKINS, told *TL*, "He has met with every black caucus in every southern state and has spoken to joint sessions of the**

state legislature in Texas and Arkansas." Jackson also met last month with supporters in Memphis and plans a "working session" on May 15-16, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, with "key leadership types" from each of the southern states to discuss "putting together state structures for a potential presidential campaign." **Describing Jackson's efforts as "testing the waters," Watkins noted that "one test is whether black politicians will be in the forefront of a potential Jackson candidacy."** . . . An early boost came from California Assembly Speaker WILLIE BROWN (D), who provided an endorsement of sorts. Saying that the 1988 presidential nomination battle is likely to result in a brokered convention, **Brown told *Washington Post* reporters in late April that he wants to be one of the brokers and Jesse Jackson looks like his best agent for getting in the room.** Brown's endorsement was somewhat of a surprise to press secretary Watkins, who said, "the word was that he was looking at [former Senator GARY] HART real strongly." **Watkins added that Brown's endorsement was symbolic of Jackson's increasing support from "more hard-nosed, professional politicians who are coming to the realization that Jackson is the candidate who best represents their interests."**

Meanwhile, Jackson opened his second exploratory office, in Chicago, on May 1. **Jackson already has an exploratory office in Iowa and plans to open at least two more—in Washington, D.C., and in South Carolina.** A key supporter reports that Jackson's principal base of operation in the 1988 campaign will be Chicago, not Washington, D.C., as it was in 1984. This supporter also reports that Chicago Mayor Harold Washington—who is very close to another potential presidential candidate, U.S. Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill.), who endorsed Washington in his mayoral bid—will not run as a favorite son but is likely to endorse Jackson late in the campaign.

Political Scientists Meet, Assess Black Power Gains

Though the official theme for the 18th annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) was "Black Americans in an Era of Conservatism," **one issue that surfaced repeatedly was whether the black community had benefited from the election of blacks to office.** Panel discussions included **case studies of Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago in the North and analyses of reapportionment politics and legislative behavior in the South.** As they have for the past 17 years, the scholars sought to fulfill the stated goal of NCOBPS to "clarify the problems of black people, suggest useful remedies, and mobilize needed resources." One of the issues they addressed was: **Did COLEMAN YOUNG "sell-out" the interests of poor blacks by becoming an unquestioning proponent of "trickle-down, pro-growth" development?** Young's 14 years as Detroit's mayor produced benefits to the black middle class and the business community, but perhaps that is the best he could do given the city's declining economic base and the lack of a good federal, urban policy, reported ADOLPH REED, political science professor at Yale University, and LINDA WILLIAMS, senior research associate at JCPS. **Are the political machines built by black elected officials promoting "personality cults?"** Ohio State University professor WILLIAM NELSON said that Cleveland City Council President GEORGE FORBES has built "the classic white machine" that has made him the "undisputed kingpin" of Cleveland politics. Yet, there are no organizations to help the political mobilization of blacks; there is less potential today than in 1965 to elect a black mayor of Cleveland, according to Nelson. **Have "post-reapportionment" legislators in the South been responsive to the black community?** In Mississippi, a new generation of black and white legislators has taken power and recently "caused a slight tremor in the power structure" by deposing C. B. "BUDDY" NEWMAN, the powerful speaker of the state legislature and leader of "the Delta dynasty which had ruled since the 1930s." This "realignment in state politics . . . is directly attributable to changes in the legislature through reapportionment," said FRANK PARKER of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. In Alabama, though the 19 blacks in the state House of Representatives and the 5 in the state Senate are among the largest black delegations in the nation, the Alabama Black Caucus was ineffective in protecting the interests of blacks in the 1980 reapportionment process, according to political scientist ROBERT HOLMES, a member of the Georgia House of Representatives. The caucus's subcommittee on reapportionment "never met and had no plan; as incumbents, they favored no change," said Holmes, who works for the United Negro College Fund. **Are 65 percent black-majority districts "a wastage of the black vote?"** A rule of thumb followed by the courts in reapportionment cases is that a congressional district must be 65 percent black to ensure that the black community is able to elect the candidate of its choice. In creating a 65 percent black majority in Georgia's fifth district, however, the black population in the neighboring fourth district had to be reduced from 28 percent to 13 percent. The result in the fourth district was the defeat of a moderate Democrat by an extreme right wing Republican. As Howard University political scientist ROBERT SMITH noted: "It is difficult to see how this outcome served the interests of the predominantly liberal Democratic black community of Georgia." Smith further argued against the "overconcentration" of blacks that results from any percentage over 55 percent: "[I]t is the responsibility of the black political leadership to register its constituency and mobilize them to turn out. The courts should not do this work for them because to do so may retard the long-term political development of the black political community." Frank Parker, an attorney who has argued many reapportionment cases, disagreed on the grounds that as a practical matter a 65 percent majority-black district was necessary to elect a black candidate. **Have black elected officials been reformers?** In a succinct summary of pragmatic accommodations by black officials, JOY CAREW, an administrator at the City Colleges of Chicago, said: "Rather than being reformists, they're supporting the economic interests that were in place. . . . As far as they go is to provide greater opportunities, not to change the system."

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA. In a special election in the Fifth Congressional District, **DORIS WARD, a black candidate, came in fourth with only 6 percent of the vote in this 9 percent black district.** Former California Democratic State Chairman NANCY PELOSI, whose campaign chest exceeded $600,000 (more money than raised by the other 13 candidates combined), won with 36 percent of the vote.

DELAWARE. **Sussex County black leaders,** angered by reports of poor conditions at the [illegible] housing development near Lincoln, **are joining forces to flex their political muscle on issues affecting the black community.** [illegible] is a [illegible] unit complex in which tenants (all black) pay [illegible] [illegible] and two-room apartments which lack running water, [illegible] facilities, toilets and heat. **As one of the leaders, Fred Cephas of Slaughter Neck's Community Action Agency, sees it, "The power of getting things done is through organization and through politics. We're going to be a political force that can put an official in office or take him out."** One-fifth of the county's 100,000 residents are black, but there are still no blacks representing Sussex in the legislature.

GEORGIA. Although Atlanta's next mayoral election is two and a half years away, **Fulton County Commissioner MICHAEL LOMAX has announced his plans to run for the seat now held by Mayor ANDREW YOUNG** (who is not eligible to seek another term). Lomax told reporters, "I intend to be a candidate. I have a broad base of support. That's what polling tells us."

ILLINOIS. In Chicago, Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON finally has the dream city council. **By lopsided votes of 40 to 9 (1 absent), Washington's forces reorganized the council and named his longtime allies to chair every important committee on the 50-member council.** These votes assure the mayor almost complete control of the legislative agenda of the nation's third largest city for the next four years. **Veteran City Hall observers said that such political clout has not been seen in Chicago since the heyday of the late Mayor RICHARD DALEY,** whose death in 1976 ushered in a period of political upheaval that saw three different mayors in three successive elections. **Washington is the first mayor since Daley's death to be reelected for a second term.**

OHIO. **Instead of taking up a GOP offer to give each political party a "safe" judgeship, Governor RICHARD F. CELESTE (D) has opted to name two black Democrats to judgeships that are anything but safe.** In late March, Celeste elevated Judge JACK SHERMAN, Jr., to a seat on the Hamilton County Common Pleas Court and named former Judge NADINE ALLEN to take Sherman's place on the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) municipal court bench. **The GOP chairman in the state has promised to go after both seats with a vengeance.**

PENNSYLVANIA. Incumbent Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode held a substantial lead over his Democratic primary opponent, Edward Rendell, in the polls, but **most observers predict a close race by the primary date, May 19.** *The Philadelphia Daily News* has endorsed Rendell, but **Goode's chances are being bolstered by the fact that the number of registered blacks has increased considerably, while the number of whites has decreased.** The size of the black vote is expected to be critical to the outcome of the race.

Black Republicans—who number more than 20,000, about 10 percent of the party membership—**could also decide the outcome of the primary contest between former Mayor Frank L. Rizzo and stockbroker John J. Egan, Jr.** Both candidates are actively courting the black Republican vote and predicting success. Both have black campaign coordinators for minority affairs. Black Republicans seem split behind each.

In the four-way race for sheriff, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* has endorsed JOHN GREEN, a former sergeant in the Philadelphia Police Department and past president of the black police officers' organization, the Guardian Civic League. Green has promised to restore order and morale to the office's badly tarnished reputation. If Green wins in the May primary and goes on to win in the November general election, he will become the first black sheriff in Philadelphia history.

In other news, **JAMES DELEON,** the only black candidate for municipal court judge in the primary, **says Philadelphia Democratic Chairman ROBERT BRADY asked him to withdraw from the race because the party had "struck a deal" with the Republicans.** DeLeon, a lawyer, refused and has been airing complaints of Democrats knocking blacks off judicial slates. According to DeLeon, the Democratic party's refusal to back blacks for judicial posts in the past at least partially explains why, in 25 years, there has never been more than three blacks out of 22 judges on the municipal court bench.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Human Affairs Commissioner JAMES CLYBURNE, who is black, wants to remove the Confederate flag from the state capitol and folks are choosing up sides. **A survey by *The State* newspaper says 60 percent believe the flag should stay (69 percent of whites, 32 percent of blacks) and 28 percent favor furling it.** In addition, 65 percent oppose a ban on playing or singing "Dixie" at public events (76 percent of whites, 32 percent of blacks) and 21 percent favor it.

VIRGINIA. Lieutenant Governor L. DOUGLAS WILDER has been elected chairman of the 40-member Democratic Lieutenant Governors Association. **In accepting the position, Wilder pointed out that the lieutenant governors are set to play a key role in working with other members of their party to elect a Democratic president in 1988.** He said there was a real opportunity to elect a Democrat in 1988 because no incumbent president will be a contender for the White House and because "the nation knows from the start of this presidential contest that it must choose a new leader." In his view, this gives the Democrats and their lieutenant governors a real chance to make a difference.

Contracting Regulations to Be Expedited

Let DOD Know Public Is "Paying Attention," Supporters Say

by Felix Peterson and Edwin Dorn

In an unusual move designed to hasten implementation of the congressionally mandated 5 percent ($30 billion over three years) minority contracting goal (see *Focus,* February 1987, for details), the Department of Defense (DOD) has decided to issue "interim, final" regulations instead of first publishing a draft regulation and soliciting public comment before the program goes into effect.

Speaking at a JCPS round table discussion on April 22, 1987, Norma Leftwich, who directs DOD's Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization (SADBU), said the program will take effect when the rules are published in the *Federal Register* in late May or early June. Indeed, some portions of the program are already "on the street." On April 18, 1987, DOD issued a Request for Proposals (RFP) for the technical assistance portion of the new law.

The regulations that will be published in the next few weeks are called "interim" because they still can be changed in response to public comment. Major Clark, who served for many years as chief of staff to the House Committee on Small Business and now is a vice president at Maxima Corporation, a minority-owned company which has been awarded DOD contracts in the past, emphasized that public comment is essential.

"Unless a lot of black entrepreneurs and college presidents respond to those regulations with *constructive* suggestions," Clark said, "DOD is going to assume that nobody is paying attention and that the heat is off." To aid those who may wish to comment on the new regulations, Anthony Robinson, president of the Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund, will produce a detailed analysis of the regulations. (To obtain a copy, please contact MBELDEF, 300 Eye Street, N.E., Washington D.C. 20002.)

Concerns Expressed

The Joint Center round table discussions brought together a diverse group of DOD contracting officials, minority entrepreneurs, business consultants, and others who had expressed an interest in DOD's contracting program after seeing the article in the February issue of *Focus.* One of the issues addressed by the discussants was whether the goals of the program—to raise DOD's minority contracting from $4.1 billion in 1986 to $10.1 billion in 1987[1]—were attainable. John Cole, president of Financial Research Associates, for instance, noted that many small, minority-owned businesses face capital shortages. "You have to have money to make money," Cole asserted. "Further, small businesses often cannot take advantage of the economies of scale that large firms can use to lower their costs."

Nick Alston of Awltech, a Denver-based black business specializing in high-tech sensing devices, mentioned the possibility of joint ventures with large corporations that do have access to capital.

DOD's Leftwich expressed optimism that minority contracting will increase as a result of this program. "As we get to know more and more about minority contractors, our ability to meet the goal will increase," she said. She also supported the concept of "teaming" and joint ventures with white contractors. Leftwich rejected concerns that the joint ventures may become "minority fronts": "We're seeing much more self-policing," she said. "If a minority front tries to get into this program, we'll hear about it."

Another problem that minority-owned businesses have confronted in the past is the difficulty of securing 8(a) certification. Dr. James Green, a city councilmember and businessman from Henderson, North Carolina, claimed that some minority firms in his state have waited for as long as two years for approval to participate in the 8(a) program. According to Herbert Fisher, director of DOD's Office of Contract Policy and Administration, formal 8(a) certification is not a prerequisite for participating in DOD's program. A firm must meet the legal definition for a small, disadvantaged business, but does not have to go through a long certification process.

Programs for HBCUs

Michelle Stent, director of government relations of the United Negro College Fund, mentioned that many historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), especially very small private colleges, lack the capacity to do the kind of high-tech research and development that the Defense Department needs. DOD officials made three suggestions. One is for small colleges to develop collaborative ventures, either with

(Cont. on page 8)

Army Lieutenant Colonel Felix "Pete" Peterson is spending a year at JCPS as a senior military fellow and Edwin Dorn is deputy director of special programs at JCPS.

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[1] Within a week after the round table, DOD officials lowered their target for 1987 to $7-8 billion.

Affirmative Action Approved Again

Even Without Admitting Prior Wrongs, Employers Can Seek to Integrate Work Place

by Jerome M. Culp

For the fourth time in the last two terms, the U.S. Supreme Court has reaffirmed the constitutional validity of affirmative action. Taken together, these four decisions signal a significant rejection of the Reagan administration's onslaught on the underpinnings of affirmative action and its support for the claims of whites who charged "reverse discrimination."

Though race-conscious relief has been sanctioned in prior Supreme Court decisions (e.g., the *Weber* case in 1979), these cases go further and may signal that the Supreme Court, unlike the Reagan administration, is impatient with the present state of black and female progress in the work place. In *Paradise v. United States,* for example, the Court for the first time approved a race-conscious remedy which allows blacks to be promoted at a rate higher than the percentage of blacks eligible to be promoted. In essence, the Court has indicated that it believes that "race" matters on the job, and that private and public employers may take race into account either to remedy past wrongs or to achieve the goal of an integrated work place.

The Recent Decisions

In the most recent of the four decisions, *Johnson V. Transportation Agency,* a case in which a white male challenged a white female's promotion, the Court upheld the use of sex- (and, implicitly, race-) conscious remedies pursuant to a voluntarily adopted affirmative action plan. The Court's ruling in *Johnson* indicates that employers need not admit prior discrimination in order to adopt and implement affirmative action plans.

In *Paradise v. United States,* the Supreme Court affirmed a district court's remedy that required the promotion of blacks and whites on a one-for-one basis until the state developed a nondiscriminatory method of promoting state police officers.

In the two major decisions last term, *Firefighters v. Cleveland* and *Sheetmetal Workers v. EEOC,* the Court approved a consent decree (which included numerical hiring requirements) to provide relief to black individuals who themselves had not suffered discrimination in hiring.

These decisions indicate that, at present, a majority on the Court supports the notion of affirmative action as long as it does not encroach too directly on the settled expectations of white incumbent workers—as in layoffs. In layoff cases involving affirmative action, the Court has made clear that the burden on white workers is not diffuse enough, and the claims of the black and female beneficiaries not worthy enough, for the Court to permit relief. Last term, in *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education,* the Court held that it is improper to place the burden of remedying past discrimination on white incumbent workers. In *Wygant* the Court concluded that a layoff plan which provided protection for black incumbent workers with less seniority than white incumbent workers violated the constitutional rights of the incumbent white workers. The one exception is when an injured party can show that but for past discrimination he or she would have had more seniority.

Shifting Majorities

The decision issued last month by Justice Brennan in the *Johnson* case could have been issued eight years ago when the Court decided *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber.* In *Weber,* Justice Brennan was very careful to justify the need for affirmative action on the basis of a long history of discrimination in craft unions. He also noted that the employer's plan to remedy it was reasonable and not too burdensome on white workers. But in *Johnson,* Justice Brennan wrote a much more expansive decision, which held that employers have a great deal of freedom to remedy discrimination based on sex (and implicitly race) than had heretofore been permitted. Justice Brennan wrote that "an employer may adopt a plan even where the disparity [between male and female workers] is not so striking, without being required to introduce the non-statistical evidence of past discrimination that would be demanded. . . [by other proof-based] standards."

> ***These cases. . . may signal that the Supreme Court, unlike the Reagan administration, is impatient with the present state of black and female progress in the work place.***

The Court was willing to go further in 1987 than in 1979 for three reasons. First, the makeup of the majority changed. Two justices who did not participate in the *Weber* case voted with the Brennan majority in

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Jerome Culp, professor of law at Duke University, is the JCPS Distinguished Scholar for 1987-88.

Johnson. With these two additional votes, Justice Brennan had no need to temper his views as he had to do to get Justice Byron White's vote in *Weber*. (Justice White dissented in *Johnson* and declared he would now vote to overrule *Weber*.)

Second, the Court was unsure in 1979 how far the country was willing to go to eliminate racial discrimination. By 1987, however, the Court appears willing to infer that both Congress and the public support the notion of affirmative action—in part because Congress failed to take any action to overrule *Weber*. Justice Stevens, for instance, notes in his concurrence in *Johnson* that he believes that the Court's interpretation of Title VII in the *Weber* case has become part of the settled law of the land, and that is one reason he is unwilling to change it.

> ***To open up the work place to blacks and women, employers must be persuaded to voluntarily adopt affirmative action plans.***

Third, the Reagan Justice Department presented arguments in *Johnson* (e.g., only provable victims of past discrimination can benefit from affirmative action) that would have made the removal of discrimination very difficult in the near future. Since discrimination is difficult to prove even for the direct victims of it, Title VII—as interpreted by the Reagan administration—would provide little relief for blacks. A majority of the Court, including Reagan's own appointee, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, rejected this prospect.

However, it is important to note that four members of the pro-affirmative-action majority—Justices Brennan, Blackmun, Marshall, and Powell—are over the age of 75. The other two members of the majority are Justices Stevens and O'Connor. Justice O'Connor supports affirmative action in a narrower range of circumstances than the others in the majority do. Thus, the death or retirement of one of the four older justices could swing the court toward other, less supportive interpretations of the validity of affirmative action.

To Open Up the Work Place

The Supreme Court has given employers the go-ahead to use their own efforts to eliminate discrimination. However, nothing in these decisions requires any employer to adopt a plan unless they have a long provable history of discrimination. To open up the work place to blacks and women, employers must be persuaded to voluntarily adopt affirmative action plans.

The most effective plans will be those which attempt to help blacks and women in areas where, historically, discrimination has denied them an opportunity to participate. The plans should have a specific goal in sight and should not permanently foreclose whites and males from access to job opportunities. Within that framework it is quite possible for employers to change the current face of the job market. Whether this will happen will depend on the number of employers who decide to adopt and implement effective affirmative action plans; on legislative action by Congress, state legislatures, and city councils to mandate affirmative action in public contracts and employment; and on the willingness of employed blacks and women to put pressure on their employers to voluntarily attempt to eliminate employment discrimination. ■

What Actions Are Effective

Even if a formal affirmative action plan is not adopted, other steps can be taken to eliminate discrimination. One of the most effective is to see that people who are sensitive to that issue are in charge of personnel screening and hiring. A partner in a large Washington, D.C., law firm attributes the very noticeable change in the makeup of the support staff at his firm over the past 10 years to hiring a personnel manager who is sensitive to hiring blacks. The new personnel manager made no changes in company standards or in the quality of work expected but was able to hire a number of black secretaries, receptionists, and computer assistants.

However, when it comes to hiring upper-level management, a sensitive personnel manager may be powerless. The history of black participation in the corporate sector shows that there must be a firm commitment at the very top in order to improve the hiring and promotion of blacks. The companies and public employers who have done best in moving blacks onto and up the corporate and managerial ladder are those, like IBM and some federal departments, that have a long-standing commitment to affirmative action. Such a commitment is essential for effective affirmative action at the very top of the corporate, academic, or public employment worlds.

Finally, the government, through its contract compliance program, can increase black and female representation in firms that are government contractors. This means that presidential leadership can have an impact both by spurring employers to voluntarily engage in activities to end discrimination and by enforcing the provisions of the executive orders that require affirmative action among government contractors. Which of the presidential candidates are willing to pledge to enforce the law effectively in the next administration and to appoint individuals to the courts, the EEOC, and the Justice Department who are sympathetic to effective affirmative action? The answer to that question may determine the presidential nominees, the shape of future affirmative action, and the pace of change in the labor market for blacks for the rest of the century.

Contracting Regulations

(Cont. from page 5)

other schools or with private businesses that are involved in research and development. Another approach is to use fellowships, internships, and the IPA (Intergovernmental Personnel Assignment) program, through which DOD would "lend" scientific and technical personnel temporarily to selected HBCUs to strengthen those institutions' capacity for research and development activities. A third is for faculty at HBCUs to spend a year on fellowship at DOD-sponsored laboratories and other facilities.

Need to Diversify

Though one of the program's goals is to develop minority business institutions, Leftwich cautioned that minority entrepreneurs should not rely too heavily on this program, or any other federal program, to ensure long-term business success. "Any business that depends primarily on government funds to stay afloat is in a very tenuous position," she concluded. "The key to long-term growth is in the private market." ■

A Conference Saluting Black Elected and Appointed Officials

Grand Hyatt Hotel, Wash., D.C., January 20-23, 1988

The Fifth National Policy Institute, a conference for black elected and appointed officials sponsored by the Joint Center and black political organizations, will be held January 20-23, 1988—the year of the presidential election. The conference will bring together over 1,000 black officials for the purpose of sharing information and developing appropriate strategies to address public policy issues of critical concern to the black community.

The objectives of the conference are:

- to provide a forum for the discussion of public policies that respond to the vital interests of blacks;
- to convey information on political issues and processes;
- to extend communication among black officials and between those officials and public and private sector organizations; and
- to develop future programs and coalition strategies.

The conference will be co-sponsored by the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board Members.

During the conference, the Joint Center for Political Studies will hold its 11th annual dinner, and the Congressional Black Caucus will sponsor a special salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The conference will include a panoply of forums, panel discussions, and major public policy addresses by noted elected and appointed officials, scholars, researchers, civil rights groups, public interest organizations, corporate and labor leaders, and many others.

For more information, please contact Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS.

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JCPS Conference Report

Defining the Underclass

Researchers Ask Who Is Included and What Are the Policy Implications

Despite Long History, Black Philanthropy Gets Little Credit as 'Self-Help' Tool

Justice Marshall's Constitutional Critique

"Defective" Original Document Did Not Survive Civil War, Says Nation's Only Black Justice

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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PERSPECTIVE

Fewer Chances to Move Up to Higher Office

The defeat last month of Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Indiana, raises anew questions about the long-term political prospects for successful black elected officials. For most white officials, the future generally offers opportunities to move up to higher office. For most blacks, this is often not the case, and Dick Hatcher seems to be no exception.

In a state that is heavily Republican and only 7 percent black, Hatcher, an outspoken liberal Democrat and champion of black causes and Jesse Jackson's presidential ambitions, has virtually no place to go in Indiana politics or, it would seem, in national politics. The barrier is not lack of ability or of ambition; rather it is his race and, perhaps to a small degree, his brand of Democratic politics.

Contrast the future prospects of Richard Hatcher with those of Richard Lugar, who was elected mayor of Indianapolis in 1967, the same year Hatcher won office. After several terms as mayor, Republican Lugar was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1976 and served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1981 to 1986. He may well emerge as a presidential candidate in 1988 or 1992.

Without a decent shot at winning higher office, many talented and ambitious black elected officials choose to remain in place for many years, ultimately to face an accumulation of citizen complaints or defeat or both. Hatcher has governed Gary for 20 years. Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, upset last year in a primary election, held office for 16 years. Detroit's Coleman Young has been mayor for 15 years. Tuskegee's Johnny Ford and Washington, D.C.'s Marion Barry have been mayors for 16 and 9 years, respectively. And Tom Bradley has been mayor of Los Angeles for 15 years, during which time he mounted two unsuccessful campaigns for the California governorship.

One thing all of these and other black elected officials have in common is limited opportunity for political advancement. Furthermore, unlike many of their white counterparts, few of these officials get offers from corporations or appointments to executive positions. Given these prospects, the attraction of elective office may begin to wane for some of the most capable black aspirants.

There are exceptions, of course, but they are few. Edward Brooke was a U.S. senator for one term. Douglas Wilder went from the Virginia Senate to the lieutenant governorship. There are only five other black officials (excluding judges) holding statewide office. We will be better able to test the validity of these exceptions when and if Wilder runs for governor in 1989 and when the next black senator is elected.

What does the future hold for Dick Hatcher? His reply: "I don't see anything I want to do at this time that is available to me. My family has had to make sacrifices over the years because of my role in public office. Now, my first thought is how to provide for their economic security."

No doubt Dick Hatcher will face the future with the same aggressiveness, optimism, tenacity, and sensitivity that characterized his stewardship in Gary and his national efforts to galvanize black Americans into a cohesive political force.

In the eyes of black Americans, Dick Hatcher has already won a higher position—a well deserved seat at the table of our heroes. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Despite Long History, Black Philanthropy Gets Little Credit as "Self-Help" Tool

by Emmett D. Carson

In much of what has been written about the need for greater self-help to address the problems of poverty, crime, joblessness, and teenage pregnancy in the black community, there has been little acknowledgment of our long and prestigious tradition of philanthropic activity. This historical lapse is regrettable because it has led many to conclude incorrectly that the only familiarity that blacks have with philanthropy is as recipients and not as givers. Such impressions are destructive because they misinform young blacks about their history and reinforce negative stereotypes about black initiative.

One reason little has been written about black philanthropic activity is that the word "philanthropy" evokes images of large foundations and wealthy philanthropists, of which the black community has had few. By expanding the concept of philanthropy to encompass the giving of money and goods as well as time, blacks emerge as having had a strong, substantial philanthropic tradition. Such philanthropy has been important in two respects. First, black philanthropy was critical to aiding the poor and playing a key role in the development of the first black schools, banks, and insurance companies. Second, black philanthropy has been an essential component of virtually every black protest movement in history.

Early Beginnings

The beginnings of organized black philanthropy can be traced to the early black churches, mutual aid societies, and fraternal lodges. In many respects, these organizations represented much of the collective black leadership in the 1700s and 1800s. It was not unusual for a black church to have its own mutual aid society or fraternal organization. Because members of both groups were required to pay regular dues, the members of these organizations were more likely to have more stable employment and, in some instances, better education than other blacks in the community.

As the name implies, mutual aid organizations provided its members with a variety of services including sick dues, burial insurance, and, occasionally, support for a deceased member's widow and children. It is interesting to note that these are all services that are now provided by the government. However, it would be a grave misreading of history to think that these organizations only operated for the benefit of their members. On the contrary, they were at the forefront in addressing the major issues that confronted the black community and providing community service through charitable activity. Through philanthropic activity, these organizations, as well as the black church, provided basic necessities to the poor, free and/or subsidized education, and the financial and manpower resources to help challenge social injustices. (See box on page 4 for a discussion of early examples of black philanthropic organizations.)

Banks, Insurance, and "Public Power"

It should be noted that early black philanthropic activity had several unanticipated benefits. In his seminal work on the development of black businesses, Abram Harris suggests that as the number of mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations grew, their increasing financial needs led directly to the creation of the first black banks and insurance companies.

> ***The majority of blacks continue to be vigorously engaged in nearly every aspect of philanthropic activity ranging from cash contributions to donations of goods and voluntarism.***

In addition to providing charitable services to the poor and cultural programs for socio-economic advancement, black philanthropic activity has been used as a mechanism by which to implement and sustain protests against the larger society. David Mathews, president of the Kettering Foundation, has suggested that philanthropic activity is a political force that provides, among other benefits to the political process, "public power." Public power is defined by Mathews as the ability of philanthropic activity to raise the public's consciousness to a state where it can influence public decision-making:

> We are impressed nowadays with formal power—the power of position, money, and law. We tend to lose sight of more basic political power: the power of ideas and ideals, the power of relationships, and the power of commitments. But such power has great force as has been vividly demonstrated in events ranging from neighborhood revitalization to protests against the Vietnam War.

An early example of black philanthropic activity being utilized as public power was the Underground Railroad.

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. Carson is a research associate at JCPS.

Black Philanthropy

(Continued from page 3)

In recounting the accomplishments of the Underground Railroad, few acknowledge the extent to which it relied on black charitable giving and voluntarism for much of its success. The Underground Railroad sponsored national and international fund-raising campaigns, used volunteers as railroad "conductors," used the homes of supporters as railroad "stations," and lastly, provided escaping slaves with food, clothing, shelter, new identity papers, and money. Many of the black mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations were actively involved in supporting all aspects of the railroad's operation.

A more recent example of blacks using the public power of philanthropic activity to challenge social injustice is the civil rights movement. It would not be much of an overstatement, if at all, to suggest that the civil rights movement was perhaps the greatest mobilization of charitable activity of any group to be witnessed to date in America. Between 1957 and 1968, the various civil rights organizations assembled thousands of individuals into a national protest movement that raised money, collected and disbursed food, and recruited volunteers to participate in boycotts, sit-ins, and marches across the country. It would be hard to overemphasize the high level of volunteer participation, which often included children, that was required for the success of countless demonstrations.

These examples illustrate the long and prestigious tradition of philanthropic activity that has existed in the black community. In light of this history, it is interesting to note that current discussions about black self-help have evolved in such a manner as to suggest that philanthropic activity is itself a "conservative" approach for achieving black economic progress. It is not. At various times in history, black philanthropic activity has served as the centerpiece of liberal, conservative, and nationalistic strategies for black socio-economic progress.

Current Survey

In an effort to obtain current data on the philanthropic activity of black Americans, the Joint Center for Political Studies added 30 questions on philanthropy to its 1986 JCPS Gallup Poll. The nationally representative survey is unique in that it oversampled blacks and contains extensive questions on several aspects of black philanthropic activity including attitudes toward charity, charitable giving and voluntarism through different types of organizations, and donations of food, clothing, and other goods.

The preliminary findings suggest that black traditions of charitable giving and voluntarism remain strong.

- Over 67.3 percent of all blacks surveyed reported having given money to a charitable organization in 1985. This includes 76 percent of blacks with incomes over $25,000, 77 percent of blacks with incomes between $12,000 and $25,000, and 58 percent of blacks with incomes under $12,000.
- Over 68 percent of all charitable dollars in the black community in 1985 went to the respondent's own church; 7 percent went to religious organizations and hospitals; 6 percent to social welfare organizations; 4 percent to educational organizations; and only 1 percent to political organizations.
- 54 percent of blacks surveyed reported having made a charitable contribution to the church. This compares to 24 percent who made contributions to

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State Laws Curbed Early "Self-Help" Societies

One of the earliest recorded mutual aid societies was the fraternal society known as African Lodge No. 459, founded in Boston in 1787 by Prince Hall. The lodge is widely recognized as the beginning of black Masonry in the United States. The lodge not only provided health and life insurance programs for its members, it provided Boston's black community with leadership. The lodge was active in the abolitionist movement and sponsored regular programs to aid the poor, including collecting and distributing free food and firewood during the winter months.

The multifaceted character of African Lodge No. 459 was typical of mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations that would follow it. For example, during the great plague that struck Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1793, the Free African Society provided the city with an extensive array of voluntary aid including nursing and burial services. The Free African Society that was founded in Boston in 1796 was so widely recognized for its community service and charitable activities that in 1808, two hundred blacks attended a commemoration program in the organization's honor.

Black literary societies such as Baltimore's Young Men's Mental Improvement Society for the Discussion of Moral and Philosophical Questions of All Kinds, the Young Men's Literary and Moral Reform Society of Pittsburgh and Vicinity, and the Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons were active in providing books and establishing libraries. The Brown Fellowship Society, founded in 1790, provided free and subsidized education for free black children in Charleston, South Carolina.

As testimony to the leadership and services provided by these organizations, by 1835, several states, including Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, had passed legislation that prohibited blacks from having "lyceums, lodges, fire companies, or literary, dramatic, social, moral, or charitable societies." Laws such as these made it necessary for many of these organizations to operate in secrecy.

Justice Marshall's Constitutional Critique

''Defective'' Original Document Did Not Survive Civil War, Says Nation's Only Black Justice

Editor's Note: Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall's speech to the San Francisco Patent and Trademark Law Association in Maui, Hawaii, on May 6, 1987, has sparked an overdue discussion of blacks and the U.S. Constitution. Though some commentators criticized Marshall and a conservative legal foundation called for his ouster, his views are likely to be the focal point at several educational conferences that will be held this year. (See box for details of selected list of scheduled events.)

The following is a partial text of Justice Marshall's speech.

1987 marks the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution. A commission has been established to coordinate the celebration. The official meetings, essay contests, and festivities have begun.

The planned commemoration will span three years, and I am told 1987 is "dedicated to the memory of the Founders and the document they drafted in Philadelphia." We are to "recall the achievements of our Founders and the knowledge and experience that inspired them, the nature of the government they established, its origins, its character, and its ends, and the rights and privileges of citizenship, as well as its attendant responsibilities."

Like many anniversary celebrations, the plan for 1987 takes particular events and holds them up as the source of all the very best that has followed. Patriotic feelings will surely swell, prompting proud proclamations of the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice shared by the Framers and reflected in a written document now yellowed with age. This is unfortunate—not the patriotism itself, but the tendency for the celebration to oversimplify and overlook the many other events that have been instrumental to our achievements as a nation. The focus of this celebration invites the complacent belief that the vision of those who debated and compromised in Philadelphia yielded the "more perfect Union" it is said we now enjoy.

I cannot accept this invitation, for I do not believe that the meaning of the Constitution was forever "fixed" at the Philadelphia Convention. Nor do I find the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice exhibited by the Framers particularly profound. To the contrary, the government they devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government, and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights, we hold as fundamental today. When contemporary Americans cite "The Constitution," they invoke a concept that is vastly different from what the Framers barely began to construct two centuries ago.

"We the People"

For a sense of the evolving nature of the Constitution we need look no further than the first three words of the document's preamble: "We the People." When the Founding Fathers used this phrase in 1787, they did not have in mind the majority of America's citizens. "We the People" included, in the words of the Framers, "the whole Number of free Persons." On a matter so basic as the right to vote, for example, Negro slaves were excluded, although they were counted for representational purposes—at three-fifths each. Women did not gain the right to vote for over a 130 years.

These omissions were intentional. The record of the Framers' debates on the slave question is especially clear: The Southern states acceded to the demands of the New England states for giving Congress broad power to regulate commerce, in exchange for the right to continue the slave trade. The economic interests of the regions coalesced: New Englanders engaged in the "carrying trade" would profit from transporting slaves from Africa as well as goods produced in America by slave labor. The perpetuation of slavery ensured the primary source of wealth in the Southern states.

> ***The effects of the Framers' compromise have remained for generations. They arose from the contradiction between guaranteeing liberty and justice to all, and denying both to Negroes.***

Despite the clear understanding of the role slavery would play in the new republic, use of the word "slaves" and "slavery" was carefully avoided in the original document. Political representation in the lower House of Congress was to be based on the population of "free Persons" in each state, plus three-fifths of all "other Persons." (Article 1, section 2.) Moral principles

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Marshall's Constitutional Critique

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against slavery, for those who had them, were compromised, with no explanation of the conflicting principles for which the American Revolutionary War had ostensibly been fought: the self-evident truths "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

It was not the first such compromise. Even these ringing phrases from the Declaration of Independence are filled with irony, for an early draft of what became the Declaration assailed the King of England for suppressing legislative attempts to end the slave trade and for encouraging slave rebellions. The final draft adopted in 1776 did not contain this criticism. And so again at the Constitutional Convention eloquent objections to the institution of slavery went unheeded, and its opponents eventually consented to a document which laid the foundation for the tragic events that were to follow . . .

Upcoming Conferences on Race and the Constitution

- *"Black Americans and the Development of the U.S. Constitution."*

The Joint Center for Political Studies and the Smithsonian Institution will jointly sponsor a conference to explore the character and extent of black influence on the Constitution. While the conference will consider the impact of constitutional decisions on blacks, the emphasis will be on the role of blacks in shaping today's Constitution through their own actions. The conference will also assess the effects of black-induced constitutional change on the quality of government and the status of the individual in the society.

The conference will have three objectives. One is to increase public understanding of the process of constitutional development and the distinct impact of race and racial issues in that process. Another is to help black Americans to better understand and appreciate their own distinct contributions to the development of the Constitution and our system of government. Such understanding not only clarifies the historical record, it is likely to inspire pride in and support for the political system. A third objective is to focus attention on the continuing dilemmas that race poses for the Constitution and to underscore the need to urgently and creatively address this unfinished business in constitutional development.

The conference will be held at the Smithsonian Institution on November 11-12, 1987. For more information, please contact Jean Jalloh, Joint Center for Political Studies, (202) 626-3533.

- *"The Constitution and Race: A Critical View."*

Sponsored by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the conference will be held at Harvard University, from September 11-13, 1987. For more information, call (212) 864-4000.

- *"Toward a More Perfect Union."*

Several educational forums are scheduled, including a conference in early December. For more information, call Marcia Levy, executive director, at (212) 614-6450.

Dred Scott Case

No doubt it will be said, when the unpleasant truth of slavery is mentioned during this bicentennial year, that the Constitution was a product of its times, and embodied a compromise which, under other circumstances, would not have been made. But the effects of the Framers' compromise have remained for generations. They arose from the contradiction between guaranteeing liberty and justice to all, and denying both to Negroes.

The original intent of the phrase, "We the People," was far too clear for any ameliorating construction. Writing for the Supreme Court in 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney penned the following passage in the *Dred Scott* case, on the issue of whether, in the eyes of the Framers, slaves were "constituent members of the sovereignty," and were to be included among "We the People":

> We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included. . . . They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race...; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. . . . [A]ccordingly, a negro of the African race was regarded . . . as an article of property, and held, and bought and sold as such . . . . [N]o one seems to have doubted the correctness of the prevailing opinion of the time.

And so, nearly seven decades after the Constitutional Convention, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the prevailing opinion of the Framers regarding the rights of Negroes in America. It took a bloody civil war before the 13th Amendment could be adopted to abolish slavery, though not the consequences slavery would have for future Americans.

The 14th Amendment

While the Union survived the Civil War, the Constitution did not. In its place arose a new, more promising basis for justice and equality, the 14th Amendment, ensuring protection of the life, liberty, and property of *all* persons against deprivations without due process, and guaranteeing equal protection of the laws. And yet almost another century would pass before any significant recognition was obtained of the rights of black Americans to share equally even in such basic opportunities as education, housing, and employment, and to have their votes counted, and counted equally. In the meantime, blacks joined America's military to fight its wars and invested untold hours working in its factories and on its farms, contributing to the development of this country's magnificent wealth and waiting to share in its prosperity.

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June 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Two national polls show Jesse Jackson leading all Democratic presidential contenders, but, if the election were held today, "undecided" would win.**
- **After long terms in office, three black mayors have been replaced by politicians with a new political style—but there is little evidence of a generational change in black politics.**
- **If Republican Senator Bob Dole declares for the presidency, his South Africa policies may hinder his quest for black votes.**
- **Across the nation, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley is likely to face strong opposition if he runs for a fifth term in 1989; a congressional committee has approved legislation granting statehood and full congressional representation for the District of Columbia; church leaders in New York City are planning a massive registration and turnout campaign aimed at electing a black mayor; and, Mississippi state Senator Henry Kirksey is planning a run for lieutenant governor.**

They're Off to the Presidential Races With Jackson Leading

If the 1988 presidential elections were held today, **Mr. Undecided would win. Though voters cannot decide who he will be, by a margin of 37 percent to 29 percent, they favor the eventual Democratic presidential nominee,** according to a *New York Times*/CBS poll taken May 11-14. None of the contenders have captured large blocs of voters: Only 16 percent of the Republicans and 17 percent of the Democrats said their minds were made up about whom they would support. Thus, as far as the polls are concerned, it is still anybody's race in both parties, a fact that delights most of the announced and potential contenders. . . **In the lead, and demonstrating the most momentum, is JESSE JACKSON, whose support rose in two major national polls.** In the June 4, 1987, ***Washington Post*** **poll, Jackson, with 22 percent, had a wide lead over his next-best Democratic rivals, Massachusetts Governor MICHAEL DUKAKIS and Illinois Senator PAUL SIMON, who both got 13 percent. Jackson's support rose from 13 percent in a *Post* poll in March. In the *New York Times*/CBS polls, Jackson's support rose from 10 percent on May 5-6 to 17 percent on May 11-14.** Jackson's support rose among blacks from 35 percent to 51 percent, among younger voters (under 30) from 20 percent to 32 percent, and among his firm supporters—voters saying their minds were made up—from 2 percent to 8 percent. Jackson also appeared to be doing slightly better with white Democrats (8 percent) than he did in 1984 (2 percent). **Only Massachusetts Governor MICHAEL DUKAKIS outran Jackson among whites (with 13 percent).**

Media Reaction: **At first the media almost unanimously found it difficult to treat Jackson as part of the actual horse race for the presidency.** The *New York Times* article about their most recent poll was headlined "Jackson Tops Poll (Not Counting Cuomo)"—thereby giving almost equal billing to a Democrat who continues to reiterate that he will not run for president in 1988. The *Washington Post* story on the post-GARY HART state of the Democratic presidential campaign led with Dukakis being catapulted into the favorite's role in New Hampshire. In other ways, too, Jackson as frontrunner has been treated differently: **for example, there have been no news articles which compare how Jackson might do head to**

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head with potential Republican nominees—the kind of Hart versus Bush, Hart versus Dole stack-ups that were constantly reported when Hart was frontrunner. Some newspaper columnists and television reporters have stated as a fact—without explanation—that Jackson cannot win and that he is the frontrunner "temporarily and by accident." . . .Others, like DAVID BRODER, WILLIAM RASPBERRY, RICHARD COHEN, JUAN WILLIAMS, all of the *Washington Post*, and columnist JACK ANDERSON have begun to treat Jackson as frontrunner. This new status has brought with it some negative attention like Juan Williams' article in the *Washington Post* (May 31, 1987, "Outlook") which asks "Is Jackson Really Good for Blacks?"

Black Leadership: **Among blacks, the pressure is growing to endorse Jackson or no-one at all.** This was evident at the annual meeting of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) in late May, where some Jackson supporters pushed for an early endorsement of their candidate. Though the CBTU decided not to endorse Jackson for the present—because it would conflict with their greater interest in ensuring that the AFL-CIO does not endorse a candidate in 1988—they promised to review the issue at a later date. . . **The pressure on leaders of the CBTU is likely to be felt increasingly by many other black leaders.** Unlike in 1984, few will have already committed themselves before Jackson enters. **Still—so far, few black leaders have marched forward to openly endorse Jackson. Some, such as Mayor ANDREW YOUNG (D-Atlanta), have already indicated that Jackson is not their first choice, and others, such as Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON (D-Chicago), have said the Democratic contenders are all good men.** On the other hand, sources report that 15 of the 23 Congressional Black Caucus members promised in a private meeting with Jackson to support and work actively for him in their districts and states. Calls to offices of CBC members revealed that **Congressmen LOUIS STOKES (D-Ohio), GUS SAVAGE (D-Ill.), CHARLES HAYES (D-Ill.), MERVYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), MAJOR OWENS (D-N.Y.), and RONALD DELLUMS (D-Calif.) are supporting Jackson.** Leaning towards supporting Jackson are: Congressmen ED TOWNS (D-N.Y.), MIKE ESPY (D-Miss.), JOHN CONYERS (D-Mich.), and MICKEY LELAND (D-Tex.). A staff member for Rep. JOHN LEWIS (D-Ga.) reported that he is presently uncommitted, but would support Senator SAM NUNN (D-Ga.) if he enters the race, and a staff member for Rep. ALAN WHEAT (D- Mo.) said he is supporting Missouri Rep. RICHARD GEPHARDT. All other CBC members' staffs said their congresspersons were "uncommitted."

No Change of the Guard but a New Political Style Is In

Though several signs in the last few years point to the changing face of black politics, **there is little evidence that the old guard is yielding place to a new generation of leaders.** The evidence in support of the "change" thesis is that many well-known names of the past have already left, or will soon leave, public office. Among them are: former two-term Mayor ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL OF New Orleans, former four-term Mayor KENNETH GIBSON of Newark, and, most recently, five-term Mayor RICHARD HATCHER of Gary. **But, are their successors part of the new generation?** SHARPE JAMES of Newark, for example, was an early Gibson supporter and was elected to the city council in the year that Gibson was elected mayor. THOMAS BARNES won his former county assessor's seat with the aid of Richard Hatcher and was an early Hatcher supporter. And SIDNEY BARTHELEMY served in the city council during Morial's tenure as mayor. **Even in other recent elections, there is little evidence of generational change.** JOHN LEWIS and JULIAN BOND are in the same generation—both were leaders in the student segment of the Civil Rights Movement. KWEISI MFUME took PARREN MITCHELL's congressional seat in Baltimore—but it was Mitchell's decision to retire. MIKE ESPY won the Mississippi congressional seat that state Rep. ROBERT CLARK had been unable to win, but a few thousand votes could have reversed the outcome in both of Clark's losses and in Espy's victory. Yet, these cases hardly add up to a preference for a new generation. . .The new faces may not be from the next generation but they represent new approaches. Newark Mayor James sharply criticized Gibson for doing little or nothing about Newark's ongoing problems of crime and economic deterioration. Barnes, in Gary, took a similar approach—not only criticizing the state of economic underdevelopment and high unemployment in the city, but also the corruption charges against several high ranking officials in Hatcher's administration. **They both called for a new way of doing things, a new effort at solving problems by a new official. Both heard their calls heeded.**

One reason for the defeat of "old guard" blacks may be that, unlike their white counterparts, they stay in lower or local office longer. **As noted in this month's "Perspective" column, local black elected officials face great difficulty in catapulting to higher office,** particularly in jurisdictions which are not majority black. **Indeed, if Kenneth Gibson could have become governor of New Jersey, as he sought to do in 1985, he would not have been around to be defeated as mayor of Newark in**

1985...A second factor responsible for the change of the "old guard" is that, **even in some majority-black districts, whites sometimes hold the balance of power or the pivotal votes.** More specifically, as whites have begun to give up efforts to defeat black candidates in majority-black areas, they have begun to choose which of the two black candidates they would prefer— usually the candidate who appears to be more moderate. This tactic was successful in the New Orleans mayoral race and in the 5th congressional district race in Georgia, where white voters decided the election and the majority of blacks voted for the losing candidate... **In short, the old guard is, in some cases, being replaced by a group of new black politicians who are better at presenting themselves as pragmatic, independent, and experienced.** One needs only to point to L. DOUGLAS WILDER, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, to see how this fiery orator, who was often viewed as a black militant and liberal in his state representative and senatorial years (when he represented heavily black districts), managed to transform his image into that of a moderate/conservative in his race for his statewide seat. **Rather than being from a new generation, the new faces are likely to be those who have adopted a new political style—perhaps to appeal to whites.**

STEPping on the Toes of the Democratic Leadership Council

TL reported last month that the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) had created a Super Tuesday Education Project (STEP) "committed to wooing conservative whites." *TL* added that, although DLC officials deny it, one theory is that if enough white conservatives return to the Democratic fold they can dilute the impact of the southern black vote. **According to WILL MARSHALL, staffer for the DLC, this simply is just *not* the intent of STEP.** Marshall says the two-fold goal of STEP is to encourage citizens in general to exercise their constitutional right to participate in the presidential nomination process and to encourage all candidates to address issues of national concern— whether these efforts benefit Jesse Jackson or any other candidate. Toward this effort, STEP will hold public forums, voter education programs, candidate debates, and other events. A DLC fact sheet on STEP points out that it has targeted the 20 states with contests on Super Tuesday (March 8, 1988) "because they represent the first broad-based test of the primary season. As such, they could constitute a kind of national referendum on issues of overriding importance to the public." The states holding primaries on March 8 are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Washington. Marshall says no groups are to be excluded from its plans and indeed a number of prominent black leaders will be invited to its June 22 "Super Tuesday Summit" in Atlanta. **Moreover, Marshall points out that the DLC, whose membership now numbers 175, recently has gained several new black members, including Chicago Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON, Louisiana state Senator WILLIAM JEFFERSON, U.S. Representatives CARDISS COLLINS (Ill.), MIKE ESPY (Miss.), FLOYD FLAKE (N.Y.), JOHN LEWIS (Ga.), AND LOUIS STOKES (Ohio).**

Will Blacks Support Dole Despite His South Africa Policies

In an April 2nd column entitled "Dole's Record of Excuses," *Washington Post* columnist **DOROTHY GILLIAM decried Kansas Republican Senator ROBERT DOLE's most recent positions on the southern Africa region and his enlistment of JOHN SEARS, a registered lobbyist for the government of South Africa, as an adviser to his own presidential campaign.** Last year, Dole voted to sustain President Reagan's veto of a bill sanctioning South Africa's apartheid system and, more recently, the former Senate majority leader has sided with groups that are seeking to topple the legitimate Mozambican government, a government that even the Reagan administration is seeking to work with. **Gilliam quotes TransAfrica Executive Director RANDALL ROBINSON's conclusion that** Senator Dole is "one of the faces behind apartheid." Senator Dole, a likely presidential candidate in 1988, responds that he has "a good civil rights record" and calls criticism of him "shortsighted." Speaking in Dole's defense, **SHEILA BAIR, a former Dole staffer, points out that Dole was exceptionally influential in the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act in 1982; supported the Martin Luther King holiday; disagreed with the Justice Department in *Thornburg v. Gingles* (voting rights), *Grove City* (civil rights), the Executive Order on affirmative action; and has tirelessly advocated that the GOP reach out to black voters.** Gilliam, however, was not persuaded: "Dole's domestic civil rights record is not the issue here. South Africa is. . ." If Dole seeks black votes in his presidential race, which he says he will, the flap over his actions toward South Africa have likely only just begun.

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA. Some political observers in California believe **Los Angeles Mayor TOM BRADLEY,** who broke records by being elected to a fourth term in 1985, **could be in trouble if he tries to make good on his "firm decision" to seek a fifth term in 1989.** They believe voters are ready for a change and that his vulnerability increased after his devastating loss in the governor's race last year. His expected opponent is West Side City Councilman ZEV ZAROSLOVSKY, who is viewed as the leader of the city's emerging slow-growth movement, a combination of angry homeowners and environmentalists. Many of Bradley's supporters believe that his 14-year reign at City Hall has been marked by the highly successful downtown revitalization and the expansion of Los Angeles International Airport and the Port of Los Angeles, but some critics say that Los Angeles is a world class city and its objectives have changed but that Bradley has not. **Nevertheless, Bradley should be considered a favorite at this writing.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. With the support of five members of the Congressional Black Caucus, **the House District of Columbia Committee approved, 6-5, a bill that would grant D.C. statehood and full representation in Congress. Congressman WALTER FAUNTROY (D-D.C.) announced he will wage a nationwide campaign, linked to the bicentennial celebration of the Constitution, to gain passage in the full House of Representatives in September.** . . .Opponents of statehood gained a vocal ally when Congressman STAN PARRIS (R-Va.) took over as the new ranking member of the House District Committee to replace the late Congressman STEWART MCKINNEY (R-Conn.). Parris had this to say to D.C. residents who complained they lack full representation in Congress: "I'd say buy a house in Alexandria [Va.]. Love to have you." Parris also told the *Washington Post:* "It's not just the rights of the 600,000 people [in the District of Columbia]. How about the rights of the 220 million people who call this the nation's capital? . . . I think it's a tradeoff, if you will, of whose rights are superior." . . .On another front, **former civil rights leader JAMES FORMAN has launched a referendum drive to ensure D.C. elections will be held this November to elect "transitional" representatives to Congress.** Foreman has already declared as a Democratic candidate for one of the two transitional senators who will be chosen if the elections are held, according to Washington's *City Paper.*

ILLINOIS. In the ongoing "musical chairs" of Illinois politics, **the latest report is that the leading foes of Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON** (including Cook County Democratic Party Chairman EDWARD VRYDOLYAK) **are all considering switching to the Republican party.** If these prominent local Democrats were to change parties, it could cause a major shake-up in Chicago and Illinois politics. Indeed, if just two Democrats switched allegiance in the Illinois Senate, Republicans would have a majority for the first time since 1974. Not everybody is thrilled about the move, including the Illinois GOP chairman, DONALD TOTTEN, who told the *Washington Post:* "You put together the chairman of the Democratic party with the Republican party and you've got something. I'm just not sure what."

In East St. Louis, **the primary election for mayor and treasurer will be repeated on July 14 after a circuit court judge invalidated the February 24 primary** because about 1,200 voters had also signed independent candidates' petitions—a violation of state law. In a strange turn of events, the East St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee is seeking a candidate for mayor who will run as a surrogate of CLYDE JORDAN, who brought the lawsuit but died of lung cancer before the court ruling. Ironically, the committee has said that they also welcome incumbent Mayor CARL OFFICER to meet with them to be considered as Jordan's surrogate.

MASSACHUSETTS. Conservative "self-help" advocate Dr. GLENN LOURY withdrew his name from consideration for the post of undersecretary of education after being arraigned on charges of assaulting and threatening to kill a 23-year-old woman who said she shared an apartment with him. Loury pleaded innocent in Boston Municipal Court and a trial date was set for July 9, 1987. The *Boston Globe* also reported that Loury had faced many questions about his delinquency in repaying student loans and quoted him as saying, "It is obviously not something I am proud of. I let it slide a long time and eventually paid it off in a lump sum."

MISSISSIPPI. State Senator HENRY KIRKSEY, one of Mississippi's most prominent leaders, **is passing up the chance for reelection this year in favor of a run for lieutenant governor. His mission: to abolish the post of lieutenant governor.** According to Senator Kirksey, the lieutenant governor's position is simply used as a "stepping-stone" for those who want to run for higher office and build their own power bases. Kirksey said that eight states already do not have lieutenant governors and there's no evidence that these states have suffered. Whether elected or not, Kirksey says he will continue to press for abolishing the office.

In Hollandale, civil rights activist and former school board member HELEN PERKINS became the first black and the first woman to take the oath of office as mayor.

NEW YORK. Rev. CALVIN BUTTS, executive minister of the Abyssian Baptist Church in New York City, **Rev. BEN CHAVIS,** executive director of the United Church of Christ, **and their supporters have kicked off a "grassroots" voter registration drive that is seeking to lay the groundwork for electing a black or Hispanic as mayor of the city.** Butts is considering running in the 1989 primary for mayor himself. The aim of the group is not only to register more blacks in the context of a broad voter education campaign, but also to build a black and Hispanic coalition in which both groups have equal strengths in an effort to take over the mayor's office.

PENNSYLVANIA. In the Democratic mayoral primary in Philadelphia, **black turnout exceeded white turnout for the first time in the city's history; 96 percent of blacks voted for incumbent Mayor WILSON GOODE** and 88 percent of whites voted for his challenger, EDWARD RENDELL, **and Goode won the Democratic nomination with 56 percent of the vote.** Goode will now face former Mayor FRANK RIZZO (R), who switched parties in a comeback attempt. Given the sharp racial polarization in the primary results, the general election may be close, but Goode is favored to win.

Pittsburgh's first black police chief, WILLIAM H. MOORE, saying his superiors had rendered his position powerless and were forcing him "to play the role of a token," resigned from office, according to the *Pittsburgh Inquirer.* Moore, who was appointed by Mayor RICHARD CALIGUIRI only a little more than a year ago, said the Department of Public Safety had excluded him from "all significant decisions concerning the Bureau of Police . . . and had rendered the office of chief of police totally ineffectual and void of authority." Black community leaders REGINALD PLATO and RONALD SAUNDERS have urged Mayor Caliguiri to "request the immediate resignation" of the head of the Public Safety Department, but Caliguiri has rejected their requests.

SOUTH CAROLINA. In Bishopville, for the first time ever, the city council has a black majority. Councilmembers ALEXANDER CODELL BOYD, MCPHINE BROOKS, ROBERT MELTON, and PHILIP BRADLEY compose the majority of the six-member council. Brooks is the first black woman to ever be elected to the city council.

In Chester, South Carolina, voters elected their first two black city council candidates—one of them a woman—in early May. DAISY ATKINSON, a retired schoolteacher, became the first woman and one of the first blacks elected to the council when she took 55 percent of the vote to win her Ward 3 race. JAMES GORE, a local funeral director, won the Ward 4 race with 59 percent of the vote over the incumbent. Atkinson and Gore are distant cousins. Fifty-seven percent of the city's population is black.

Black Philanthropy

(Continued from page 4)

social welfare organizations; 20 percent who contributed to educational organizations; and 9 percent who contributed to political organizations.

- 52 percent of all blacks surveyed reported having contributed food, clothing, or other property to a charitable organization in 1985.
- 50 percent of all blacks surveyed reported having volunteered to work with some type of charitable organization. A total of 40 percent of blacks reported having volunteered through their church or religious organization, while 11 percent performed volunteer work for an educational organization, and 5 percent performed volunteer work for a social welfare organization.
- 70 percent of all blacks surveyed reported having given money, food, clothing, or some other service to the homeless, a needy neighbor, a needy relative, a needy friend, or a needy individual. A total of 16 percent of blacks with incomes over $25,000 reported that they had not aided any of these individuals, compared to 26 percent of blacks with incomes between $12,000 and $25,000, and 36 percent of blacks with incomes less than $12,000.
- With regard to attitudes toward charity, when asked how much confidence they had in charitable organizations to help the poor, 18 percent of blacks responded "a lot," 47 percent said "some," 22 percent reported "very little," and 6 percent answered "none."

The findings above provide a strong challenge to the proposition that blacks are not actively involved in charitable efforts to help the poor. The data confirm that the majority of blacks continue to be vigorously engaged in nearly every aspect of philanthropic activity ranging from cash contributions to donations of goods to voluntarism. In addition, the findings indicate that blacks with greater incomes have not, as some have suggested, abdicated their responsibilities to be actively engaged in charitable activities to help the poor.

Discussions about black self-help suggest that philanthropic activity is itself a "conservative" approach for achieving black progress. It is not.

These findings should provide a basis for discussing how black philanthropic activity can be further refined as a strategy of self-help for blacks to address the myriad problems which face our community. ■

Marshall's Constitutional Critique

(Continued from page 6)

What is striking is the role legal principles have played throughout America's history in determining the condition of Negroes. They were enslaved by law, emancipated by law, disenfranchised and segregated by law; and, finally, they have begun to win equality by law. Along the way, new constitutional principles have emerged to meet the challenges of a changing society. The progress has been dramatic, and it will continue.

The men who gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 could not have envisioned these changes. They could not have imagined, nor would they have accepted, that the document they were drafting would one day be construed by a Supreme Court to which had been appointed a woman and the descendant of an African slave. "We the People" no longer enslave, but the credit does not belong to the Framers. It belongs to those who refused to acquiesce in outdated notions of "liberty," "justice," and "equality," and who strived to better them.

New constitutional principles have emerged to meet the challenges of a changing society. The progress has been dramatic, and it will continue.

And so we must be careful, when focusing on the events which took place in Philadelphia two centuries ago, that we not overlook the momentous events which followed, and thereby lose our sense of perspective. Otherwise, the odds are that for many Americans the bicentennial celebration will be little more than a blind pilgrimage to the shrine of the original document now stored in a vault in the National Archives. If we seek, instead, a sensitive understanding of the Constitution's inherent defects, and its promising evolution through 200 years of history, the celebration of the "Miracle at Philadelphia" will, in my view, be a far more meaningful and humbling experience. We will see that the true miracle was not the birth of the Constitution, but its life, a life nurtured through two turbulent centuries of our own making, and a life embodying much good fortune that was not [of our own making].

Thus, in this bicentennial year, we may not all participate in the festivities with flag-waving fervor. Some may more quietly commemorate the suffering, struggle, and sacrifice that has triumphed over much of what was wrong with the original document, and observe the anniversary with hopes not realized and promises not fulfilled. I plan to celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution as a living document, including the Bill of Rights and the other amendments protecting individual freedoms and human rights. ■

The problems of the underclass and the search for solutions to these problems will be a central focus of the Joint Center's research agenda over the next few years. On March 5, 1987, the Center brought together a distinguished group of scholars (see list of participants on page 11) to determine whether they could agree upon a definition of the underclass for purposes of research. A summary of their discussions is included in this conference report, which was written by the Center's principal researcher on underclass issues, Katherine McFate. Follow-up reports will appear in Focus *and other JCPS publications over the course of the research project.*

Defining the Underclass

Researchers Ask Who Is Included and What Are the Policy Implications

by Katherine McFate

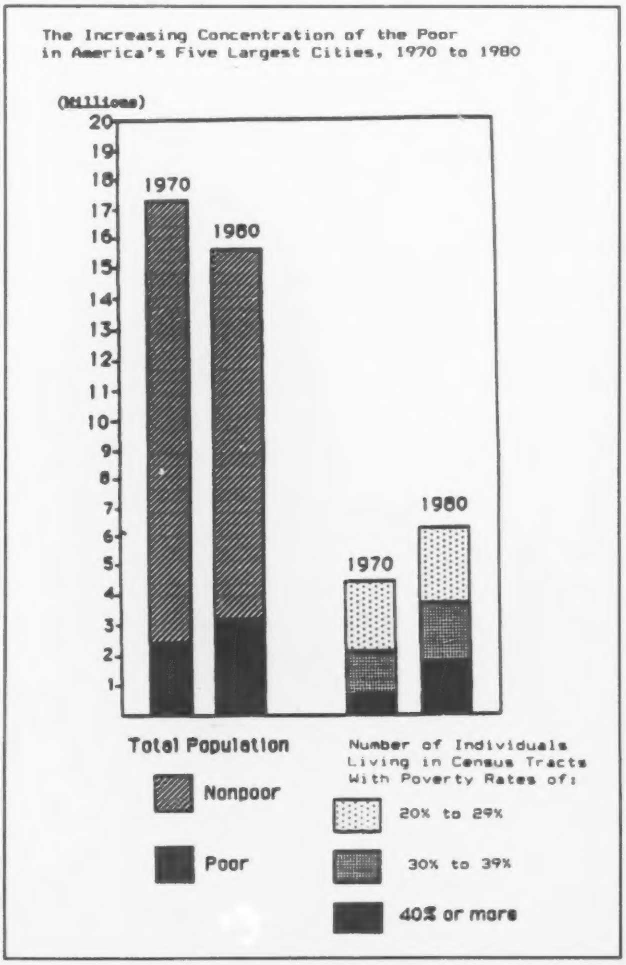
There is much confusion as to exactly what the term "underclass" means: different analysts use the word to define different populations. While this conceptual fuzziness might lead some to conclude that the term should be scrapped altogether, the idea of an American underclass has captured the attention of the media, the public, and policy makers. (See box on page 10 for a discussion of the term's origins and popular usage.) If these groups are going to use the term, it is important that researchers define it in a way that allows for the systematic collection of information on the causes and characteristics of the problem.

Until some sort of common definition is reached, researchers will not be able to agree upon such basic questions as the size and location of the underclass population or to collect a common body of knowledge to guide policy and future research. The emphasis here is understandably on "research" and "researchers," but a clear definition is also needed by the public, journalists, policy-makers, etc., if they are to talk intelligently about this problem.

Poor Now More Isolated

The conference began with a presentation by Professor William J. Wilson of the University of Chicago, who argued that the emergence of an American underclass is the result of the changing nature and character of poverty over the past 15 years. Using his own data on the underclass, Wilson showed that the poverty population of the nation's five largest cities (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Detroit) had increased by 22 percent between 1970 and 1980, though the cities' total population had decreased by only 9 percent. Professor Wilson's data also showed that the number of individuals living in census tracts with a poverty rate of at least 40 percent increased by a staggering 161 percent (see chart on this page). Said Wilson: "These incredible changes took place in just a 10-year period." Wilson's results show that the poor who live in urban areas are more heavily concentrated in certain poor neighborhoods than was the case in previous decades and they are more isolated from other classes in society.

"Social isolation implies that contact between groups of different class or racial backgrounds is either lacking or has become increasingly intermittent . . . ," Wilson


The Increasing Concentration of the Poor in America's Five Largest Cities, 1970 to 1980

said. This lack of contact heightens the effects of living in areas with a high concentration of poor people, in which the population is overwhelmingly socially disadvantaged. Individuals in these neighborhoods do not have access to job networks or quality schools, cannot find appropriate marriage partners (individuals with a steady source of support), and are not exposed to conventional role models. Extreme social isolation and spatial concentration effectively limits the opportunities available to the urban poor and narrows their horizons.

Trapped by Behavior

Other participants, notably Dr. Isabel Sawhill of The Urban Institute, and Professor Christopher Jencks of Northwestern University, argued that concern with the underclass was not simply the result of a more entrenched, concentrated poverty. Policy makers have shifted their focus from concern with poverty *per se* to concern with certain behaviors—such as welfare dependency, teen pregnancy, school failure, nonparticipation in the labor market, and participation in the illegal economy—that society views with disfavor, Sawhill asserted. She pointed out that since an increasing number of young people and children seemed trapped in poverty by these behaviors, policy makers and the public are concerned that a permanent underclass might be developing.

The public and the media use the word underclass to mean something different from "the poor," Sawhill maintained. "[W]hat's motivating public concern is not so much compassion . . . but fear [and] concern about some kind of intergenerational transmission of behaviors and status."

The Size of the Underclass

Estimates of the size of the underclass are obviously determined by definitional parameters. If all persistently poor individuals (i.e., individuals poor for 8 of the last 10 years) who are not disabled or aged are defined as part of the underclass, then 23.5 percent of the poor, or 7.8 million persons, are underclass. Much of this poverty is to be found in small towns and rural areas. If the underclass is defined as all poor blacks and Hispanics that live in poor areas of the nation's largest cities, then less than 16 percent of the poor population, or 5.2 million individuals, would be classified as underclass.

If we confer underclass status only to individuals living in census tracts with a high incidence of joblessness, high school dropouts, welfare dependents, and female-headed families, then only 5 percent of the population, or 1.6 million Americans, would qualify as underclass. Everyone in these census tracts are urban dwellers and a majority are black and Hispanic.

Two-sided Debate

These contrasting perspectives set the stage for a two-sided debate about the nature of the underclass problem. On one side, Professor Wilson and Robert Aponte, project director of the underclass project at the University of Chicago, and Dr. Peter Gottschalk, of the Institute for Poverty Research and Boston College, argued that it is deprivation that defines the underclass. Individuals who comprise the underclass lack opportunities and live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of unemployment, crime, and deviant behavior—but the underlying problem is poverty. Said Gottschalk:

> It seems to me that people are constantly confusing the cause of the problem with the problem itself . . . [We] study this problem because we're concerned that certain people have a very poor [quality of life]. They aren't getting the fruits of society . . .
>
> If you tell me that we can't measure whether you're deprived on the basis of income, we'd also have to know about whether you're likely to get mugged when you go to get the mail—then I'll say neighborhood characteristics should be in my definition of the problem. If you further tell me that work itself has value for a person and that a person is deprived if [he or she does not] have work—then I will include [lack of employment in my definition]. What I don't want us to do is say that behavior is the problem . . .

Several participants sharply disagreed with Gottschalk's assessment, asserting that it is behavioral deviance that sets the underclass apart from the rest of society and distinguishes them from other poor people. As Jencks told Gottschalk:

> If you don't believe pathological behavior is really a problem worth worrying about, the correct position to take is to stop worrying about the underclass and go back to talking about poverty, which is a perfectly feasible position to take. But it's a tactical error to import poverty back in under the rubric of the underclass.

Dr. Sawhill and Dr. Erol Ricketts, both of The Urban Institute, presented evidence from their research that showed that if the underclass is defined by behavioral deviance, there is a difference between the underclass and the poor. Sawhill and Ricketts defined "underclass areas" as census tracts with a high proportion of *all* of the following: (1) 16-19 year olds out of school and not employed; (2) males aged 19-64 who were not working regularly; (3) female-headed households with children; and (4) households receiving public assistance. They found that 40 percent of underclass tracts are *not* in areas of extreme poverty, and that 72 percent of the census tracts with high poverty rates are *not* underclass tracts by this behavioral definition. "Ultimately," these

(Continued on page 11)

The Discovery of an Underclass

The term "underclass" is relatively new to public discourse. It was not until 1980—when journalist Ken Auletta popularized the term in a series of *New Yorker* articles—that the term became a household word. Auletta studied the "hard-core unemployed" and found that these individuals did not conform to or even appear to understand the norms and expectations related to the work world. Auletta described how the chaotic and uncertain personal lives of his subjects interfered with their ability to participate in the mainstream economy.

Auletta took the view that "underclass" individuals behave differently and adhere to values that are very different than those of most Americans. A number of articles that reinforce this message have appeared in the media more recently—by Leon Dash in the *Washington Post* in the spring of 1986; by Nicholas Lemann in *The Atlantic* in the summer of 1986; by Bill Moyers in a CBS documentary, "The Vanishing Black Family," that appeared last spring; and by Hodding Carter, in a PBS special, "Crisis on Federal Street" early this year.

Popular Misconceptions

The popular portrait of the underclass is not consistent with available research data and information. Journalists and others focus on attitudes or values to explain why the underclass is different from the rest of society. But the evidence from national surveys and over-time studies indicates that the values and attitudes of the long-term poor do not differ significantly from the rest of the population and that values and attitudes held early in life are not related to later economic well-being.

Another view reinforced by the media is that the underclass, in the words of Professor Richard Nathan of Princeton University, is "a shorthand expression for the concentration of economic and behavioral problems among racial minorities (mainly black and Hispanic) in large, older cities." This is an overstatement. Problems of dependency, joblessness, and homelessness are not exclusively minority problems.

Even conservative analyst Charles Murray is lobbying against making "black" synonymous with the underclass or the dependent poor. Murray is now studying areas with a heavy concentration of white welfare recipients to try to explain how local "cultures of dependency" develop in response to the availability of government programs like AFDC.

Likewise, long term joblessness and/or intermittent underemployment is becoming a problem for increasing numbers of white displaced workers who are victims of plant closings, lay-offs, or the economic depression of rural areas. And there are many white faces among the homeless who wander our streets. While minorities are overrepresented among the underclass, the underclass is not comprised exclusively of minorities.

Working Poor Are Excluded

There is some agreement that the underclass includes members of the following groups:

- long-term welfare recipients, especially those who receive AFDC after becoming an unmarried teenage mother;
- the long-term jobless or underemployed, especially young high school dropouts;
- the homeless; and
- participants in the illegal economy.

In describing the underclass, most analysts exclude the working poor and household heads who have legitimate reasons for nonparticipation in the labor force (such as a disability). Persistent poverty status (being poor for 8 or 10 years at a stretch), by itself, is too broad and too narrow a definition. It is too broad because it could include single, working parents with dependents, the retired elderly, and the disabled. It is too narrow because it would exclude a group that most analysts would include—individuals who are profitably engaged in illicit economic activities.

The one behavioral characteristic that individuals in the four groups listed above share is nonparticipation in the mainstream economy. This one behavior is strongly associated with others—failure to complete high school, early (out-of-wedlock) childbearing, long-term welfare dependency, and participation in the illicit economy.

(Continued from page 9)

researchers concluded, "policy makers and researchers must decide whether they are more interested in low income or in deviant social behavior. While the two are highly correlated, they are not the same thing."

Emerging Synthesis

During the session, a synthesis between the two positions began to emerge from the group. As Sawhill summed it up:

> [We're moving] towards a compromise position here, which accommodates the various theories of this literature—it's a concentration of both social ills and dysfunctional behaviors and low income in certain neighborhoods or communities.

Consensus formed around a definition of the underclass as "poor people who live in a neighborhood or census tract with high rates of unemployment, crime, and welfare dependency." Such a definition highlights the concentration effects of both hardship and dysfunctional behaviors.

Conference participants noted that if the underclass is defined by social isolation, spatial concentration, and dysfunctional behavior, the underclass population turns out to be predominately minority and primarily urban, a description reflected by images of the underclass in the popular media. Sawhill pointed out that her research, using a behavioral definition, showed that there were *no* "underclass" census tracts outside of urban areas.

The definition that the conference participants ultimately reached seemed to fit well with the group that Joan Maxwell, of the Greater Washington Research Center, suggested Congress is most concerned with:

> They are long-term poor; they have a weak attachment to the labor force; they live in an urban area; they are in a population that is under [age] 40 or perhaps under 30; there are many of them; and their unemployment rates are disproportionate to whatever [rate] prevails in the area.

Research Questions

Over the course of the day-long discussion, participants identified several research questions with important implications for public policy.

- *What factors contribute to high rates of joblessness in underclass areas?*

Joblessness among the urban poor is the core of the underclass problem. However, participants agreed that much more research is needed to understand the *causes* of joblessness, particularly among minority males in central city poverty areas. Wilson and others have argued that the loss of manufacturing jobs from central city areas has disproportionately affected the central city poor, particularly minorities. But Professor Harry Holzer, of Michigan State University, pointed out that the effects of "de-industrialization" are still largely unknown. Unresolved issues include: (1) the effect that large-scale structural changes in the economy have had on the number and quality of jobs available in central city and metropolitan areas; (2) whether the "suburbanization" of job opportunities has contributed to rising rates of joblessness among inner city minorities; (3) the relative importance of basic skills, job search methods, and employer discrimination in explaining disproportionately high rates of unemployment among

(Continued on page 12)

List of Conference Participants

- William J. Wilson, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago
- Sheldon Danziger, Director, Institute for Poverty Research
- Christopher Jencks, Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University
- Isabel Sawhill, Senior Research Associate, The Urban Institute
- Sara McLanahan, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin
- Robert Reischauer, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
- Mark Hughes, Assistant Professor, Public and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School
- Peter Gottschalk, Professor of Economics, Boston College
- Harry Holzer, Assistant Professor of Economics, Michigan State University
- Mary Corcoran, Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor
- Jennifer Hochschild, Professor of Political Science, Princeton University
- Robert Aponte, Project Coordinator, The Underclass Project, University of Chicago
- Erol Ricketts, Visiting Fellow, The Urban Institute
- Michael Fix, Research Associate, The Urban Institute/Rockefeller Foundation
- James Gibson, Director of Equal Opportunity Division, Rockefeller Foundation
- Joan Maxwell, Senior Associate, The Greater Washington Research Center
- Angela Blackwell, Attorney, Public Advocates, Inc.
- Milton Morris, Director of Research, JCPS
- Katherine McFate, Research Associate, JCPS
- Margaret Simms, Deputy Director of Research, JCPS
- Emmett Carson, Research Associate, JCPS

Conference Report

(Continued from page 11)

minority youths; and (4) the extent to which illegal alternatives lure employable people away from legitimate work. Until we have a clearer understanding of the factors implicated in the disproportionately high rates of unemployment among inner city minorities, policy makers cannot know what policies will be most effective—job creation, wage subsidies, education and training programs, or job placement.

- *What are the effects of living in areas with a heavy concentration of poverty, joblessness, and welfare dependency?*

Researchers agreed that the confluence of high rates of poverty, joblessness, welfare dependency, and crime in certain neighborhoods may make treatment of each of these social problems more difficult. However, until careful research documenting the extent and impact of "multiplier" or "concentration effects" is carried out, the research community can offer policy makers little guidance about whether to develop dispersal strategies or to utilize existing demographic patterns to more efficiently deliver services.

If the concentration of poverty and its associated social ills make remediation more difficult, is dispersal the answer? Some researchers suggested that legislators should focus on housing policies—particularly those related to low-income housing. Scattered-site public housing or housing vouchers could reduce the density of poor families in inner city areas. Another dispersal strategy would involve integrating schools and neighborhoods on the basis of economic level rather than race.

On the other hand, concentration might have a positive side, making it easier to target the provision of remedial education, child care, or training programs to certain neighborhoods. The guaranteed college scholarship program established for one graduating class in a Harlem public school by private philanthropist Eugene Lang was cited as an example of the positive effects of remediation in high density areas. Besides directly benefiting eligible youngsters, this program has had positive ripple effects, encouraging the siblings and friends of participating youngsters to go to college, too.

- *Will the welfare reforms currently underway help solve the underclass problem?*

A number of participants were concerned that the welfare-to-work reforms currently being considered are punitive by intent and based on assumptions about the effects of welfare that had been refuted by research. But Sara McLanahan, of the Institute for Poverty Research and the University of Wisconsin, and Sawhill argued that some of the programs now being enacted provide remedial education, job training, childcare, and extended health benefits that could actually help poor, single heads of families lift themselves out of poverty.

It was agreed that the real innovations in welfare-to-work programs that are currently underway were the result of initiatives that occurred at the state or local level and this was likely to continue to be the case. This creates the potential for great inequity in the kinds of services (remedial education, job training, placement, child care) available to AFDC recipients in different areas of the country. Participants pointed to the need for careful evaluations of the demonstration projects currently underway before a particular program is hailed as "the" most effective model to be used. Serious welfare reform is expensive and program directors must be careful not to oversell their results and unrealistically raise expectations about the positive effects that can occur.

James Gibson, of the Rockefeller Foundation, which provided support for the conference, ended the afternoon with an appeal for the scholars present to commit themselves to conducting research on these important issues and to actively work to insure that their findings reach public officials and policy debates relating to the underclass. ■

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Black Casualties Were Heavy in Ground War in 1965 and 1966; From 1961-73, 12 Percent Died

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PERSPECTIVE

Gaining Influence on the Foreign Affairs Front

"Foreign Policy and the Black Community" should become a new title in our public policy library. It's not a new book, although it might well be. It is a critical issue in our national life, whether our concern is a nuclear holocaust or peaceful coexistence, employment or unemployment. Increasingly, our nation's foreign policies knock on the doors where we live and determine our lifestyles and livelihood.

On the tenth anniversary of TransAfrica, black America's sole foreign policy lobby, I was asked to address this subject. Reflecting on what I would say, I was reminded of how long it had been since Martin Luther King, Jr., was castigated—mainly by whites but, sad to say, by some blacks as well—for speaking out against the war in Vietnam. That was more than 20 years ago!

Much has changed since then, of course, including what some see as a hypersensitivity toward a "new Vietnam" in Central America, the creation of TransAfrica, the appointment of Andrew Young as the first black American ambassador to the United Nations, and the inclusion of more blacks in the foreign policy establishment.

Despite these changes, blacks are still hardly a blip on the foreign policy scene, signifying how invisible they were two decades ago. Two reinforcing perceptions can be blamed. One is that all too many black Americans view foreign policy as less important to their welfare and self-interests than domestic-policy, particularly civil rights. The other perception is that too many influential white Americans simply erase blacks from the foreign policy slate. They conclude that blacks are neither interested in nor particularly qualified for participation in the foreign policy field. There is a lot of myth, mischief, and hyperbole in both perceptions. But there also is some truth.

This situation is not likely to change significantly until black Americans begin to take a more aggressive and informed interest in foreign policy. This means making a connection between our enlightened self-interests and the positions the United States takes on international questions, whether the issue is who defends America (see pages 3 and 4 of *Focus*), international trade, or human rights.

Beyond Africa and the Caribbean, not enough blacks have concluded that there is nothing "foreign" about foreign policy. On the international side, as on the domestic side, the key issue is politics—who gets what, when, and how. Therefore, blacks can inject themselves into the international decision-making process in much the same way they influence domestic policies.

To do so, however, requires us to master some fundamentals:

- We need to understand our interests and those of the nation as a whole and to be able to distinguish the priorities of self and those of society.
- We must master the international facts, figures, and terrain and acquire the expertise to support our arguments.
- We must know how foreign policy is made and implemented by the United States and other governments.
- We must prepare and compete vigorously for admission to the select councils in which policies are proposed and influenced.
- And, finally, we must mobilize the black community, as a whole, to be a coherent force in the stream of foreign affairs.

TransAfrica, by focusing on Africa and the Caribbean, has become the model of how to influence foreign policy. It is an example we should follow more broadly and more intensively. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Vietnam "'Battle Deaths'': Is There a Race or Class Issue?

Black Casualties Were Heavy in Ground War in 1965 and 1966; From 1961-73, 12 Percent Died

by Felix (Pete) Peterson

The Vietnam Memorial is where visitors to Washington, D.C., gather, in all our national diversity, to commemorate our pride, grief, and lingering doubts about a conflict that claimed the lives of thousands of American men and women. As the visitors scan the names of those who died serving their country, some may wonder whether the sacrifice was borne unequally by racial minorities and the poor.

Some may recall the famous Riverside Church sermon of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who said, "We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and east Harlem." Dr. King went on to say that "the poor fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population."

Were Dr. King's views, which are widely shared in the black community, correct? The data I have collected suggest that Dr. King was on target, on both the racial and class questions, at the time of his speech in 1967. (Dr. King died on April 4, 1968.) However, for the entire war, which lasted from 1961 to 1973, black casualties did not exceed the percentage of blacks in the population. In a later section of this article, I discuss why black casualties were higher in some years than in others.

"Battle Deaths," by Race

Year	*Black (%)*	*White (%)*
1961	0	11 (100%)
1962	0	29 (93.5%)
1963	4 (5.1%)	73 (93.5%)
1964	10 (6.8%)	134 (91.1%)
1965	225 (16.4%)	1120 (81.8%)
1966	822 (16.4%)	4116 (82.2%)
1967	1191 (12.7%)	8107 (86.5%)
1968	1885 (12.9%)	12561 (86.1%)
1969	1016 (10.8%)	8304 (82.8%)
1970	372 (8.8%)	3815 (90.4%)
1971	117 (8.5%)	1248 (90.4%)
1972	21 (7.0%)	276 (92.0%)
1973	9 (.05%)	228 (96.2%)
Total*	5672 (12.3%)	40022 (86.7%)

Source: Report titled "Casualties incurred in connection with the conflict in Vietnam," Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), prepared on April 25, 1974.

* This number does not include those who have died since 1974 as a result of injuries suffered during the conflict.

Casualty Levels, Year by Year

The above table contains a year-by-year breakdown of all Vietnam "battle deaths" (defined as deaths resulting from *hostile enemy action;* they exclude deaths from disease, vehicle accidents, etc.) for blacks and whites, from 1961 to 1973.

In searching for an explanation for the higher rate of black casualties in the years 1965-66, I looked at two sets of data. First, I examined the records on "Military Occupational Specialities," which show that blacks were disproportionately likely to serve in the two types of units most likely to suffer casualties in a ground war, i.e., the infantry and artillery. The percentage of blacks in these two types of units exceeded the percentage of blacks in the Army for each year of the war. In 1965, blacks were 12.8 percent of Army personnel but 14.9 percent of infantry and artillery troops; in 1966, blacks were 11.3 percent of the Army but 17.2 per-

> ***When the total battle casualty numbers for the entire war (1961-73) are reviewed, racial disparities are not evident.***

Army Lt. Col. Felix (Pete) Peterson is a senior military fellow at JCPS for 1987.

cent of the infantry and artillery units.

Second, as the chart below shows, the percentage of black casualties in the Army jumped sharply from 7.6 percent in 1964 to 20.7 percent in 1965. This increase is the single most important factor in explaining the rise in the overall rate of black casualties.

Who Fought for America?

Though large racial disparities for the entire 1961-73 period are not evident, was Dr. King correct in his perception that the poor suffered disproportionately? Several scholars have looked at the class question.

Maurice Zieltin, Kenneth Lutherman, and James Russello, for instance, did a study of 380 Wisconsin men killed in Vietnam prior to December 31, 1967. By comparing income and occupational data from the parents of the deceased with similar data from a control group, these researchers "found that almost twice as many of the total casualties were from poor families relative to the control group (27.2 percent versus 14.9 percent)."

The poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America. . .

In another study, Gilbert Badillo and G. David Curry looked at the relationships between casualty rates and the racial composition and socioeconomic indicators of the community from which the individual was drafted or enlisted. They concluded that the socioeconomic strata of the individual, and not race, was the primary sociological determinant of disparities in casualty rates.

They further noted that, "Those military occupational specialities (MOS), such as rifleman, which entail the greatest exposure to danger, are the same MOS's which require the lowest level of preservice training and ability. Operating under the combat demands of the Southeast Asian involvement, the U.S. armed forces acted with blind 'rationality' when it assigned individuals of lower socioeconomic origins to those positions more susceptible to mortal casualty."

Casualty Patterns

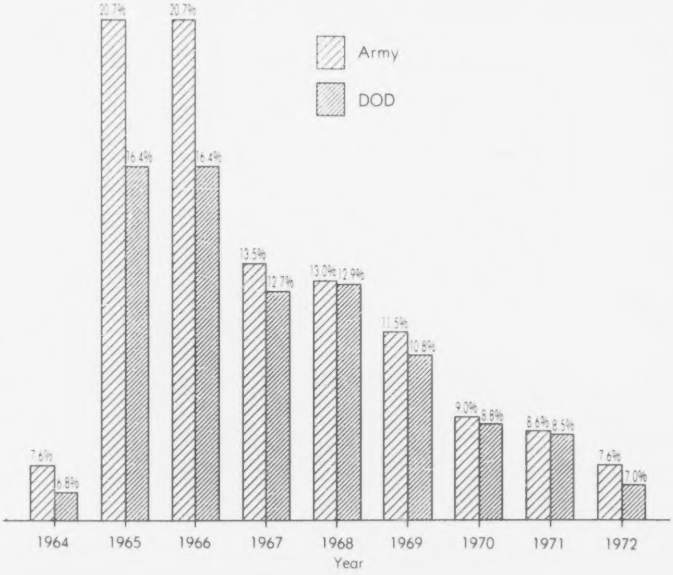
In sum, the data show that blacks did not suffer disproportionately throughout the entire course of the Vietnam War, but that they did so in 1965 and 1966. However, it also seems clear that the poor did suffer more than those of higher socioeconomic levels. Before 1967, those who were pursuing advanced degrees were deferred; they did not have to serve. Others simply went to Canada and other foreign countries to avoid the draft. Meanwhile, the poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America, in the name of freedom for all mankind. In Vietnam, for the first time, America fought a war and all segments of the population did not serve equally.

Since 1973 the armed forces have used economic incentives rather than conscription to fill the enlisted ranks. The result, according to Charles Moskos, a sociologist at Northwestern University, is that today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military. (Blacks comprise approximately 20 percent of all enlisted personnel and nearly 30 percent of the Army's enlisted personnel.)

Today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military.

If the United States should become involved in a major, conventional (non-nuclear) conflict, the burden of battle in the early stages of the war (i.e., before additional troops are mobilized) would most likely fall disproportionately on blacks and poor whites. In such an event, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s analysis of 20 years ago might again prove to be correct. ■

Black Percentage of Battle Deaths, 1964-1972



July 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Liberals and conservatives, preparing for a major confrontation that is likely to carry over to the presidential race, are lined up on opposite sides of the battle over the nomination of conservative Judge Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court.**
- **A federal appeals court in Alabama ruled that black voting rights activists were the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Department of Justice; a similar allegation has been made by several black political organizations about the U.S Attorney's investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry administration.**
- **An "early-bird" look at the 1988 Senate races shows that black voters may be able to influence the election outcomes in Ohio, Florida, Mississippi and California.**
- **Across the nation, state Senator Barbara Morton is seeking to fill the vacant seat in Connecticut's 4th Congressional District; three-term Hartford Mayor Thirman Milner announced he would not seek reelection; "the god-father of black politics," Louis Martin, is returning to Chicago to spend more time on his consulting business; and, out-going Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher will head Jesse Jackson's presidential exploratory committee.**

The Bork Nomination, Civil Rights, and Presidential Politics

Since at least the 1976 presidential campaign, civil rights has not been a front-burner issue in presidential politics. Although Rev. JESSE JACKSON often spoke about affirmative action, the runoff primary in the South, and other civil rights issues in the 1984 campaign, no-one else did. **The 1988 presidential election was shaping up as a repeat performance—until President REAGAN nominated 60-year-old U.S. Court of Appeals Judge ROBERT BORK for the U.S. Supreme Court. Now, at least in the early stage of the presidential skirmishes, civil rights will almost certainly be featured on the agenda**. . .Judge Bork, nominated to replace retiring Justice LEWIS POWELL, JR., is viewed by most observers as a staunch conservative whose appointment would finally give conservatives a majority on the court. His prior judicial record and published writings indicate that he would tilt the Court to the right on the legality of affirmative action, one-man, one-vote, a woman's right to have an abortion, and other civil rights issues. While Justice Powell had been a centrist and a critical swing vote on civil rights issues, Judge Bork is likely to seek reversals of decades of rulings that broke down the barriers of racial discrimination in schools, housing, employment, and voting rights.

In the long and bitter confirmation fight that is expected in the Senate, **Judiciary Committee Chairman JOSEPH BIDEN (D-Del.) will be in the spotlight.** Biden may also be on the horns of a dilemma. Civil rights leaders expect him to lead the opposition to Bork but to do so may cost him the votes of white conservatives and moderates (especially from the South), whose support may be necessary for him to win the Democratic presidential nomination. **On July 8, 1987, Biden said there is "an overwhelming prospect" that he will oppose Bork.** Last year Biden said he would probably support Bork if he were nominated for the high court. Biden's change of heart has led conservative newspaper columnist GEORGE WILL to accuse him of giving in to the "special interests."

On the other side of the aisle, Senate Minority Leader and presidential candidate ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.), supports Bork's confirmation and lobbied for early hearings. While this undoubtedly will enhance his appeal to the Right, it will cost him support from women and minorities. At the Annual NAACP convention, for instance, CORETTA SCOTT KING won loud applause when she said, "We must let our senators know

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that a vote against Mr. Bork is a prerequisite for our vote in the next election."...Several of the Democratic presidential contenders, including Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL DUKAKIS, Missouri Rep. RICHARD GEPHARDT, and Rev. Jesse Jackson have said they are opposed to Bork and his ideological slant on civil rights. **As Jackson put it, "No Justice is better than injustice."...The confirmation hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee are scheduled to begin on September 15.**

Are Black Leaders Being Singled-Out by Federal Prosecutors?

Two recent legal actions, one in Alabama and the other in the District of Columbia, **shed light on an oft-recurring controversy in black politics: are white federal prosecutors abusing the law enforcement process to discredit black political leaders?** In Alabama, the answer is "yes." Last month, a federal appeals court overturned the conviction of black voting rights activist, SPIVER GORDON, on the grounds that he and others had been the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Justice Department. The court said: **"Gordon presented evidence to show that the government targeted only those counties where blacks were a majority, specifically targeting those counties where blacks since 1980 had come to control some part of the county government."** As further evidence of "selective prosecution," the appeals court quoted a Justice Department spokesman who stated that "the investigations were part of a 'new policy'...brought on by the arrogance on the part of blacks in these counties."...The charges against Gordon, a city councilmember in Greene County, stemmed from assistance he had given to elderly blacks in filling out absentee ballots. The Justice Department, through the U.S. Attorney in Birmingham, charged him with "ballot tampering." Similar charges were brought against other black activists by the U.S. Attorney in Mobile. All the defendants, except Gordon, had previously been acquitted...**The appeals court also ruled that the Justice Department had acted improperly in repeatedly striking blacks from the jury that had convicted Gordon.** "Those peremptory strikes followed a recurrent pattern of exclusions in the government's other voting-fraud cases against black leaders," the court said. As a lawyer for the activists told the *Washington Post*, "The department claimed they were trying to protect the voting rights of blacks, but they consistently struck blacks from the juries."...At press time, the Justice Department had made no decision on whether to retry Gordon. Meanwhile, lawyers for Gordon (and the other black activists who were the targets of the Justice Department) are expected to pursue their own lawsuit against the government for civil damages resulting from violation of their constitutional rights.

In the District of Columbia case, abuse of the law enforcement process has been alleged but not proved. The issue arose in a lawsuit brought by District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry, who has accused federal prosecutors of misconduct in allegedly leaking information to the media about an ongoing investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry Administration. On July 8, 1987, **six black political organizations filed a "friend of the court" legal brief in support of Barry. The brief alleged that Mayor BARRY and black contractors in the city are victims of the "white power structure" that is employing "the longstanding and enormously successful tactic of utilizing the powerful law enforcement agencies to discredit black leadership."** The legal papers also allege that "at each point in our nation's history, when black Americans have attempted to flex their political muscle, white Americans have responded with intimidation, assassination, persecution, or prosecution."...The brief was filed by the National Black Leadership Roundtable, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, and members of the Congressional BlackCaucus...At press time, the court had issued no rulings in this case.

Is Connecticut Ready to Elect a Black Woman to Congress?

For nine terms, the voters of Connecticut's 4th district (Stamford-Bridgeport) elected STEWART MCKINNEY, a moderate Republican and strong backer of home rule for the District of Columbia, to represent them in Congress. McKinney died last May. Among the candidates seeking to fill his vacant seat is state Sen. MARGARET E. MORTON of Bridgeport, who in 1972 became the first black woman elected to the Connecticut state Legislature. Political observers believe that Morton can be elected, though there are signs that racial issues may be a factor in the election. **The plusses are that Morton has the support of many of the Democratic leaders in the state, including 22 of 24 Democratic state senators, several unions, and the mayor and all other elected officials of Bridgeport.** In addition, **the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC),** through its networking vehicle, the Campaign Assistance Project of the National Black Leadership Roundtable, **is coordinating a four-day (July 17 through 21) voter turnout drive for**

Morton, and several CBC members will stump the district in the closing days of the campaign . . . **On the negative side, some of Morton's campaign workers say the race issue "is floating around."** They point to a comment by a prominent Republican in the state that, "If Democrats get their act together, they could elect a brown dog." This statement has been criticized by a state Democratic party leader as "racist," since the usual expression is "yellow dog Democrat." In response to questions that have been raised about her ability to represent "all the people," Sen. Morton's staffers say she is the most experienced elected official in the race, the only candidate who has never lost a race, and the candidate who presently represents a diverse state legislative district which includes poor blacks and affluent whites . . . The Democratic and Republican primaries will be held on July 21, and the winners will meet in a special election scheduled for August 18. The majority-white congressional district is 11 percent black, 8 percent Hispanic, and 1 percent Asian.

An Early-Bird Look at Key 1988 Senate Races for Blacks

Of the 33 U.S. Senate seats up for grabs in 1988, 19 are now held by Democrats, 14 by Republicans. Incumbents are the heavy favorites in all but 10 of these races, according to analyses in the *Cook Political Report* (February 4, 1987) and various issues of *Congressional Quarterly*. Four incumbent senators are "highly vulnerable": JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.Mex.), HOWARD METZENBAUM (D- Ohio), DAVID DURENBERGER (R-Minn.), and CHIC HECHT (R-Nev.) . . . Six incumbent senators are "in potentially close races": QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.Dak.), LAWTON CHILES (D-Fla.), JOHN STENNIS (D-Miss.), JOHN CHAFEE (R-R.I.), DAN EVANS (R-Wash.), and PETE WILSON (R-Calif.) . . . As the Joint Center's analysis of the 1986 midterm elections showed (*Focus* November-December, 1986), **black voters can influence the election outcome in states where at least 5 percent of the voting age population is black—in this case Ohio, Florida, Mississippi, and California.**

OHIO—Both Senator HOWARD METZENBAUM and his principal challenger Cleveland Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH (R) are popular with black voters (who are 9 percent of the voting-age population in the state). **In the mayoral race in 1985, Voinovich was reelected with the support of 85 percent of the predominantly black precincts in Cleveland. In the U.S. Senate race in 1982, Metzenbaum won 77 percent of the black vote.** Metzenbaum also had a perfect 100 rating on civil rights issues in 1985, according to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) . . . Voinovich faces opposition in the March 15 Republican primary from Congressman BOB MCEWEN, who represents the 6th district which includes suburbs of Cincinnati and Dayton. If Voinovich wins the GOP nomination, he stands a good chance of making inroads into the votes of independents and blacks. Early polls show a close race in a potential Voinovich-Metzenbaum contest.

FLORIDA—**Although this spring political observers thought this Senate race might be close, they are now moving it into the "safe" category for incumbent Democrat LAWTON CHILES.** U.S. Rep. CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.), who was expected to be Chiles's toughest opponent, has said he "most likely will not" enter the race. Another possible challenger, U.S. Rep. BILL MCCOLLUM (R-Fla.), has yet to express his intention. Also considering a run for the Republican nomination are former Attorney General JIM SMITH, U.S. Rep. ANDY IRELAND, and former state Rep. TOM GALLAGHER, a 1986 gubernatorial candidate . . . **Chiles is relatively popular with blacks, who comprise 11 percent of the voting-age population; and he has a LCCR rating of 75 . . .** Chiles has a policy of not accepting contributions from political action committees (PAC) and has set a limit of $100 on the campaign contributions he will accept. In a state known for its expensive campaigns, this increases the risks for Chiles.

MISSISSIPPI—**Will octogenarian JOHN STENNIS seek reelection to the Senate or retire? If he runs again, he will most likely be supported by many blacks, who account for 31 percent of the voting-age population.** Stennis, once the nemesis of black politics in the state, actively sought black supporters for the first time in 1982 on the basis of his vote for the extension of the Voting Rights Act. As a result, he won 80 percent of the black vote. His recent voting record has been more moderate, earning him a 1985 LCCR rating of 65 . . . **If Stennis does retire,** U.S. Rep. WAYNE DOWDY is favored to be the Democratic candidate. Dowdy, who represents the 4th district (Jackson), has a LCCR rating of 80 and would in all likelihood be much more acceptable to blacks than Stennis. Former Democratic Congressman DAVID BOWEN might also enter the race . . . **On the Republican side,** Minority Whip TRENT LOTT, Stennis's 1982 opponent and a former White House political director, and former Congressman WEBB FRANKLIN (who was defeated by MIKE ESPY in the 2d district [Mississippi Delta] in 1986), are potential candidates. **All the Republican candidates are extreme conservatives who are not expected to get much support from blacks.**

CALIFORNIA—**Senator PETE WILSON's job and personality ratings have been low but his chances for reelection are boosted by the fact that California elections cost so much—giving a big edge to the incumbent.** Several Democrats are considered to be potential opponents, including former Gov. JERRY BROWN, Wilson's 1982 opponent, San Francisco Mayor DIANNE FEINSTEIN, state Sen. JOHN GARAMENDI, Lt. Gov. LEO MCCARTHY, Congressmen GEORGE MILLER and TOM LANTOS, and many others. **Some observers believe that McCarthy is the candidate to watch at this point.** Whether that is so or not, almost all of the potential Democrats are expected to be more popular among blacks (7 percent of the voting-age population) than Wilson, who won only 10 percent of the black vote in 1982 and has a LCCR rating of 37.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: In New Haven, former alderman and city-town clerk **BILL JONES is in an uphill battle for mayor against incumbent Mayor BIAGIO DILIETO.** Jones, who has painted a portrait of New Haven as a tale of two cities (one black and one white), has said he will be mayor of the entire city, not just downtown, Yale University, and the affluent parts of town. His main issues are declining city services and the inferior state of the public schools. Some observers say that if New Haven's blacks (who compose approximately 35-40 percent of the population) unite around Jones and if the Jones campaign is well-financed, he can win enough of the white vote to win the race.

In other news, **Hartford Mayor THIRMAN MILNER has announced he will not seek reelection this year. Milner has served three terms.** As of July 1, no one had filed to run for the mayor's seat, but Milner has already indicated his choice, state Rep. CARRIE SAXON PERRY, who is also black. Perry and other candidates are expected to enter the race.

GEORGIA: The Georgia Municipal Association (GMA) elected Atlanta City Councilman IRA JACKSON as its president in late June. **Jackson became the first black elected president in the 55-year history of the GMA, considered one of the most politically powerful lobbying groups in the state.** Upon election, Jackson immediately called for the state to "recognize its responsibilities" to help Georgia's cities find additional sources of tax money and asked that the GMA expand its clout nationally by sponsoring a series of Super Tuesday presidential primary debates.

ILLINOIS: LOUIS MARTIN, once dubbed "the godfather of black politics" by ***The Washington Post***, is returning to Chicago to take a more active role in Calmar Communications, Inc. **Martin, the board chairman of Calmar, played a key role in the administrations of Presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY, LYNDON JOHNSON and JIMMY CARTER, pressing for the appointment of senior black officials.** He was also one of the founders of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington. **Martin is expected to advise presidential candidates on how to win the black vote in 1988.**

INDIANA: Outgoing Gary Mayor RICHARD HATCHER has been named director of JESSE JACKSON'S Presidential Exploratory Committee. Hatcher, the mayor of Gary for 20 years, was chairman of Rev. Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1983-84. According to him, "all looks good now" for a Jackson presidential bid in 1988.

MICHIGAN: Flint Mayor JAMES A. SHARP, JR., announced his candidacy for reelection, saying he will stress his record which includes improved streets, the demolition of abandoned homes, and making the city "physically more liveable." Some observers, however, expect crime to be the key issue in the August 4 primary and November 3 election. Flint set a city record last year with 62 homicides. Sharp responds that although crime is a problem, he is "putting more [police] cars and officers on the streets during peak crime periods." He added, however, that more must be done to address the causes of crime—"drugs, domestic violence, unemployment, and a lack of values and self-discipline." His challengers are former Mayor JAMES RUTHERFORD, who leads Sharp in the polls; former Flint Councilman WOODY ETHERLY, JR., who is expected to split the city's black vote; and MATTHEW COLLIER, who is making his first bid for public office. As of July 1, three blacks and three whites had entered the race. Mayor Sharp is Flint's first elected black mayor.

MARYLAND: State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE continues to enjoy a wide lead over incumbent Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS in polls conducted in the Baltimore mayoral race. Both are Democrats. Given the Democratic party's 10-to-1 registration edge over Republicans in the city, winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. The primary will be held on September 15.

OHIO: The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Republican party has endorsed Attorney VICKIE JACKSON-WHITFIELD for county judge. **Jackson-Whitfield, the first black woman to be endorsed for a judicial post by the county GOP, will oppose Municipal Judge NADINE ALLEN, a Democrat who is black.**

TENNESSEE: State Rep. RUFUS JONES says he is "99 percent certain" he will enter the Memphis mayoral race. Jones, the only black operator of a Big Star store—a chain of 150 stores in the state—is chairman of the Tennessee Black Caucus and a member of the Finance, Ways and Means, and Commerce committees in the state legislature. He has also been appointed to the Transportation Committee of the National Association of State Legislators. One of Jones's first goals is to unite black leadership in the city behind him. Toward that end, Jones has already spoken to "Memphians for a Black Mayor," a diverse ad-hoc group of black leaders. **Another black candidate, city council member MINERVA JOHNICAN, has also announced she will run for mayor.** In the past, there have been divisions between Johnican and Memphis's influential Ford family (the family of U.S. Rep. HAROLD FORD). Black registration now comprises approximately 50 percent of the total voter registration in the city.

TEXAS: Black Democratic state Sen. CRAIG WASHINGTON (Houston) has attached a 10 percent minority set-aside amendment to a bill to create a new state Department of Commerce. Blacks compose 11 percent and Hispanics 18 percent of the state's population but currently receive only about 1 percent of state contracts. House Speaker GIB LEWIS, who backed the bill to create the new department, argues that minorities should be "competitive just like everyone else" and is willing to kill the amended bill rather than accept a minority set-aside clause. Washington, according to the *Comparative State Politics Newsletter*, called Lewis a "chauvinist racist" and compared the House Speaker's behavior with that of former Alabama Gov. GEORGE WALLACE in the 1960s. Attorney General JIM MATTOX has called the amendment "the most important civil rights measure before the legislature in a decade." The bill is currently in a Joint House-Senate conference committee.

This article is adapted from a report prepared for the Joint Center for Political Studies by the National School Desegregation Project. *Dr. ORFIELD, a JCPS Adjunct Scholar and professor of political science, public policy, and education at the University of Chicago, authored the report with the assistance of FRANKLIN MONTFORT, University of Wisconsin Center for Demography, and ROSEMARY GEORGE, a graduate student at the University of Chicago.*

Copies of the full report, including all charts, can be obtained by calling Jean Jalloh, Research Department, JCPS, at (202) 626-3500.

School Desegregation Needed Now

Support for Busing Grows but National Policy Has Been at a Stand-Still in the 1980s

by Gary Orfield

School desegregation has been the dormant issue in educational policy discussions in the 1980s. It is no longer front-page news, nor can it claim the progress it achieved from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, particularly throughout the South. In our view, however, it is a vital, effective policy that has proven surprisingly resilient to the political hostility or indifference of the past four presidential administrations.

In the first term of the Reagan administration, a period of federal hostility to urban desegregation, there was no major trend toward greater or lesser school desegregation. (See graph on page 6, which shows national and regional trends from 1968 to 1984.) Even more significant, however, are the data we have collected which show that desegregation plans have been successful for a generation in many cities that adopted such plans. Conversely, as our data also show, schools in areas without desegregation plans became increasingly segregated along racial lines. Our data also identify a relatively unnoticed trend: high and increasing segregation among Hispanics.

High Integration, Low Black Enrollment

The states with the most integrated schools tend to have few black students. Of the 11 states in which more than half of the black students attend predominantly white schools, only 3 have high levels of black student enrollment—Delaware (25.8 percent), Florida (23.1 percent), and North Carolina (30.0 percent). The other most integrated states are Oklahoma, Kansas, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, and Rhode Island, all of which have black student populations of less than 10 percent, and Indiana and Kentucky, where black students are almost 11 percent of the population.

A number of these states with highly integrated schools were subject to court-ordered metropolitan desegregation plans. In Delaware and Kentucky, for instance, court orders virtually eliminated segregated education in the largest cities, Wilmington and Louisville; as a result, by 1984, 91 percent of black students in Kentucky and 94 percent of black students in Delaware attended predominantly white schools. Similarly, in North Carolina, the 1971 Charlotte city-suburban desegregation plan (the first in the nation) achieved a high level of integration. Shortly after the Charlotte plan was adopted, Florida began to desegregate most of the schools in its large metropolitan areas, with lasting success.

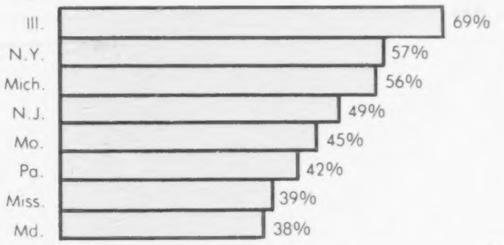
Northern Segregation

As the graph on this page shows, the states with the most segregated schools are in the North. The three states with the highest levels of school segregation include two of the old hotbeds of abolitionism, Illinois

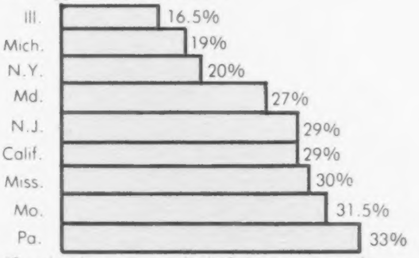
(Continued on p 6)

States With the Highest Levels of School Segregation for Blacks

Percentage of Black Students in Schools With 10% or Fewer White Students



Percentage of White Students in School of "Typical Black Student"*



*For details on the method of deriving this index, see Gary Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983).

(Continued from p. 5)

Those Who Were Bussed Liked It

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of school desegregation policy has been the development, in the 1980s, of a major public opinion trend in favor of school busing.

The Harris Survey, showing a shift of opinion between 1981 and 1986, reports that 71 percent of all families whose children were bussed said the experience was "very satisfactory." The survey also found that 66 percent of blacks, 58 percent of Hispanics, and 36 percent of whites now support busing; among those under 30, a majority of Americans support busing.

Among recent college freshmen—those most likely to have been bussed throughout their schooling—support for busing has risen in the last several years, from 45.8 percent in 1980 to 54.4 percent in 1985 to 56.1 percent in 1986, according to an annual survey by the American Council of Education.

The 1987 American Chicklet Youth Poll, conducted by the Roper Organization, found that students aged 8-17 favored busing by a margin of 64 percent to 23 percent, with 13 percent expressing no opinion. In other words, almost three-fourths of those who expressed an opinion favored busing.

and Michigan, and a pioneer in modern civil rights law, New York.

Each of these three states is characterized by segregated residential areas, fragmented school districts within large metropolitan areas, and the absence of any city-suburban desegregation plans in their largest metropolitan areas. For instance, New York, Detroit, and Chicago have neither a comprehensive plan within their overwhelmingly minority central city school systems nor a voluntary program for the exchange of students with suburban school districts.

The other states with the most segregated schools are New Jersey, California, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Maryland, and Mississippi, which is the only state from the Deep South in this group. Mississippi, it is worth noting, has a greater proportion of black students (50.4 percent) and is more integrated than all the northern states listed here, except Maryland.

Hispanic Segregation Trends

Though school segregation has been widely understood as a problem for blacks, it is now an issue that should concern Hispanics as well. Today, black students are less likely than Hispanic students to attend a class where less than half the students are white; in addition, the level of segregated schooling for blacks is much less than it was in 1968, but for Hispanics it is higher.

Segregation is high in the states where most Hispanic children are enrolled in schools, as shown in the following table:

Percentage of Hispanics in Schools Where Enrollment Is . . .

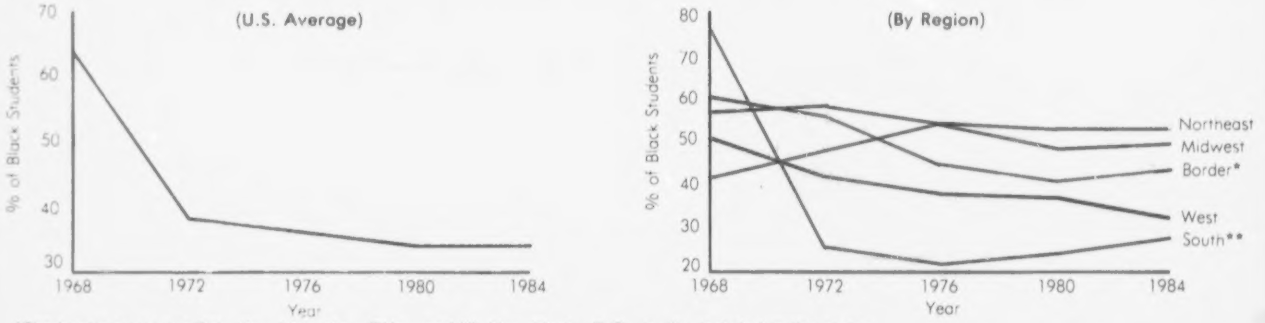
	Less Than 50% White	*Less Than 10% White*
New York	85	59
Illinois	80	41
Texas	78	40
California	74	27
Florida	68	26

Not only is Hispanic segregation high, but it has been growing rapidly in California, Florida, and Illinois and has remained at very high levels in New York and Texas.

The most integrated state with a substantial Hispanic enrollment was Colorado, where 53 percent of the Hispanic students attended predominantly white schools. Not surprisingly, the largest city in the state, Denver, has been under a mandatory desegregation court order since 1973, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Hispanics were legally entitled to desegregation remedies.

In summary, Hispanic segregation levels continued to

Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools, 1968-1984



*The border states are Del., Ky., Md., Mo., Okla., and W. Va.; Wash., D.C., is also included in this region.

**The states of the South are Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., and Va.

increase for the entire period for which data are available and for almost all regions of the country. Unlike segregation for blacks, which is subject to court orders, the isolation of Hispanics looks much more like a product of long-established and deeply rooted patterns. There has been very little organized effort to reverse this trend.

Variation Among Cities

As the following table shows, there are vast differences in the levels of desegregation in urban areas. What explains these differences? The answer is that the cities with the most integrated schools were under large-scale, mandatory, city-suburban desegregation plans while the others, with exceptions to be explained later, have never had a major, mandatory, city-wide or metropolitan busing plan.

Among the cities with the least school integration, Miami and Houston have had limited busing plans—but they were of a very strange nature. In both cases, Hispanics were counted as whites; low-income blacks were bused to low-income Hispanic schools, and vice-versa; and white middle-class schools were substantially untouched. In Memphis, too, there was a busing plan, but it proved to be ineffective when local leaders created a very large, parallel, private school system.

In Detroit and Philadelphia, the desegregation plans are limited to the central city school districts and do not include busing to the suburbs. The Philadelphia plan is completely voluntary. In St. Louis, a combined mandatory and magnet plan is in effect and, since 1984, has showed some positive effects, which are not reported in the table.

Policy Issues

There are at least three reasons to think that the time has come to again place school desegregation in the forefront of national politics. First, there is very broad support in American public opinion for the general ideal of integrated education. Second, national surveys have revealed major shifts in public opinion in favor of school busing, particularly among those who have been bussed and among the young. (See box on page 6.) Third, a growing body of research shows that integrated education has positive effects on college-going and college-completion, on obtaining jobs in growth sectors of the economy, and on the likelihood of living in integrated communities as adults.

A more urgent reason, however, is the deepening isolation of children growing up in inner city ghettos and barrios, who attend schools that are almost totally segregated by race and class. The children from these schools usually have almost no real connection to any paths of mobility in education and employment; it may well be that they are even more totally isolated from the mainstream middle-class society and economy than were southern black children during Jim Crow segregation.

Levels of School Integration in Cities

City	*% of Whites in School of Typical Black Student**	*Mandatory Busing Plan*
Most Integrated		
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	66.3	Yes
Wilmington, Del.	65.7	Yes
Louisville, Ky.	65.4	Yes
Minneapolis, Minn.	63.2	Yes
Greenville, S.C.	61.1	Yes
Greensboro, N.C.	57.6	Yes
Indianapolis, Ind.	56.2	Yes
Columbus, Ohio	53.0	Yes
Orlando, Fla.	51.1	Yes
Milwaukee, Wis.	34.5	No
Boston, Mass.	31.9	Yes
Cincinnati, Ohio	31.5	No
Least Integrated		
Chicago, Ill.	8.6	No
Newark, N.J.	8.7	No
Detroit, Mich.	9.2	Yes
New York, N.Y.	11.4	No
Baltimore, Md.	15.8	No
St. Louis, Mo.	16.0	Yes
Miami, Fla.	16.1	No
Philadelphia, Pa.	16.6	No
Atlanta, Ga.	17.2	No
New Orleans, La.	18.0	No
Memphis, Tenn.	18.4	Yes
Houston, Tex.	19.0	No

*For details on the method of deriving this index, see Gary Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983).

The time is ripe for a national effort to halt the trend towards segregated urban schools for large numbers of blacks and Hispanics. If separate and unequal schools aroused this nation to act against Jim Crow in the fifties and sixties, we should be doing no less today to help the most needy in the urban ghettos and barrios that are growing more and more segregated with each passing school year. School desegregation is far from a panacea for unequal education, but no urban community has yet been able to produce segregated schools that are equal. ■

TELESCOPE

JCPS Visiting Scholar Will Study Middle-Class Black Families

Dr. Bart Landry, associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, joined the Joint Center as a visiting scholar in June. During his stay, Landry will conduct research on the black middle class family for a book in progress. He will also write a JCPS monograph on the black middle class family.

Landry will also serve as an advisor on the JCPS study of the "Changing Black Family: Children at Risk." At present, he is organizing a conference on this subject, which is scheduled for November 12-14, 1987. 'Our goal is to compile a definitive statement of our present knowledge of the changing black family, and to point to needed areas of research,' said Landry. This conference will bring together scholars from around the nation to explore recent changes in the black family structure, particularly the increase in female-headed households.

Dr. Landry's recently published book, *The New Black Middle Class* (University of California Press), received a very favorable review in the June 7, 1987, book review section of the *New York Times*. ■

Fifth National Policy Institute Will Be Held In January 1988

Over 1000 black elected and appointed officials are expected to attend the Fifth National Policy Institute, a JCPS-sponsored conference that will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 20-23, 1988. The purpose of the conference is to share information and develop strategies to address public policy issues of critical concern to the black community.

The conference will include issue forums, panel discussions, and plenary sessions. Among the presenters will be noted elected and appointed officials, scholars, civil rights activists, corporate and labor leaders, and many others.

The following organizations are co-sponsors of the conference: the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board members.

For more information, please contact Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS. ■

Get Out the Vote With New JCPS Book

Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters, the Joint Center's latest publication, is a unique and timely documentation of the kinds of strategies and programs that are most likely to produce dramatic increases in the number of black Americans who vote.

"Black voters are a growing force in American politics. This study is a valuable guide for organizations that seek to mobilize the black vote and for candidates who seek to win that vote," said JCPS president Eddie N. Williams.

The monograph consists of case studies of four remarkably successful voter mobilization efforts which resulted in the election of black mayors in Birmingham, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and which substantially increased black political participation in the 2d Congressional District (Durham) in North Carolina.

Copies of the study may be purchased for $8.95 from the Publications Office, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 626-3500. ■

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PERSPECTIVE

Educational Reform and the Corporate Sector

In a recent speech to the senior management of a major American corporation, I addressed an issue that is of enormous significance to the future economic well-being of the black community as well as to the bottom-line concerns of the corporate sector.

The starting point of my speech was that the demographics of the work force in the year 2000 will be very different from what we see today. The overall work force will shrink and a larger proportion will be minority workers. In fact, by the year 2000, women, immigrants, and minorities will comprise 80 percent of all new labor force entrants. However, a large proportion of minorities are unlikely to be effective contributors to the future work force unless we take dramatic and immediate steps to correct current trends that threaten to impede their full participation in the American economy.

Among the most important of these trends is that minorities are less likely than others to finish high school and less likely to pursue mathematics and scientific training, areas that are becoming increasingly important. Minorities also perceive major obstacles to their advancement in the private sector, especially in the technical fields.

The new demographics show that the challenge to our educational system (and, therefore, to the economy and national security) has never been greater. Black and Hispanic youngsters, in particular, are being shortchanged in their preparation to assume a greater share of responsibility for the nation's future—a future that rests on a more technologically sophisticated economy.

Until recently, the private sector has been content to let government take the lead in developing and implementing programs to combat these problems, which may not have ranked very high on the corporate agenda. However, it is becoming apparent that corporations must play a major role from now on.

The challenge I see is for business to become more directly involved in the issues of education reform. Such direct involvement need not only flow out of humanitarian, moral, or civil rights concerns. It should flow out of reasons of self-interest. If the work force is not qualified to be productive, businesses cannot be productive, competitive, and profitable. And that's a *bottom line* for you!

It has been said that the number one concern of business is business. Increasingly, it appears that the number one concern is or ought to be education.

In getting more involved, businesses must adopt a push-pull attitude. They must *push* public officials to adopt a more realistic vision of our educational needs and to make a strong commitment to making educational reform a national priority. And they must *pull* previously excluded Americans up through the educational system and into employment opportunities.

The time to act is now. The high school graduating class of the year 2000 will soon enter first grade. As Ford Foundation President Franklin Thomas said recently, "We must act for the sake of this new generation, and for our own sake as well [with the] understanding that when we help our neighbors we help ourselves. That awareness should help light our way."

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

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The Death Penalty: Is Georgia's System Racist?

High Court Ruling Blocks Challenge to Bias Throughout Criminal Justice System

by Julius L. Chambers

Editor's note: *On April 22, 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a landmark decision which some civil-rights advocates believe is as harmful to blacks as was the infamous* Dred Scott *case, which upheld the legality of slavery. In this case,* McCleskey v. Kemp, *the Court rejected a challenge to Georgia's capital punishment law, even though statistics showed that death sentences in Georgia murder cases are imposed in a clear pattern that could not be explained by any factor other than race. (See "A Lawyer's Candid Assessment," in the box on page 4; and the "Resolution of the Black Leadership Forum" in the box on page 5.)*

Warren McCleskey, the criminal defendant in this case, was granted a stay of execution on July 9, 1987 (five days before his scheduled execution), after his attorneys produced new evidence that the police had secretly and illegally used an informant to interview him, after McCleskey had been assigned counsel. The judge is expected to overturn McCleskey's conviction (of murdering a policeman) and to grant his request for a new trial.

In this excerpt from a speech to the Metropolitan Atlanta Crime Commission on July 21, 1987, Julius L. Chambers, director-counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., which brought the suit against Georgia, explains the fuller implications of this decision.

Over the past several years, as overt expressions of intentional discrimination have submerged, the Supreme Court has established proof-of-discrimination standards that focus increasingly on a showing that the disputed action has disproportionate consequences for blacks. In the 1986 term, for instance, the Court considered the question of statistical proof in employment discrimination claims in a case brought by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The Court held in that case, *Bazemore v. Friday*, that a disproportionate-impact statistical analysis, in contrast to a requirement that intentional discrimination be proved, is sufficient to establish a claim of discrimination in employment cases. One has to ask why the Court infers discrimination from statistics showing a degree of disparate racial impact in contexts such as employment, voting rights, and housing that is lower than established in *McCleskey*, but is unwilling to accept it in instances where life and death are literally at stake.

One reason is the reluctance or inability of the Court and other Americans to accept the role that racial discrimination has played in shaping our history and our system of criminal justice. As Justice Thurgood Marshall noted recently, the Constitution as originally adopted "guarantee[d] liberty and justice to all and den[ied] both" to blacks. We the people still suffer from this conflict between our stated ideal of equality for all under the law and the reality of slavery and unequal treatment for blacks. This disparity is seen in white America's continuing propensity to overlook or ignore the evidence that discrimination still permeates all of our legal, social, and governmental institutions. Anyone who doubts it need only review the recent news reports of racially motivated violence against blacks in Georgia and in New York, in North Carolina and in Massachusetts, in pizza parlors and on college campuses, in rural enclaves in the South and on city streets in the North.

Are Racial Disparities Inevitable?

Justice Powell, writing for the five-member majority, concedes that discrepancies in death sentencing in Georgia correlate closely with race, but says such disparities "are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." The Court refused to act, even though the evidence showed that Georgia's administration of capital punishment fails to meet even the standards the Court set in 1972 in *Furman v. Georgia*, which proscribed the imposition of capital punishment in an arbitrary or capricious manner.

Justice Powell suggested several factors that motivated his decision.

First, he said that capital sentencing decisions are made by a lot of different actors, and even if the result is discriminatory, it does not necessarily prove that any one of the decision-makers *intended* to discriminate.

Second, he said that capital punishment laws are important to protect society. He found public support for capital punishment with enactment of capital punish-

(Continued on page 4)

A Lawyer's Candid Assessment

(An excerpt from the dissenting opinion of Justice William Brennan, which was joined by Justices Thurgood Marshall, Harry Blackmun, and John Paul Stevens.)

At some point in this case, Warren McCleskey doubtless asked his lawyer whether a jury was likely to sentence him to die. A candid reply to this question would have been disturbing. First, counsel would have to tell McCleskey that few of the details of the crime or of McCleskey's past criminal conduct were more important than the fact that his victim was white. Furthermore, counsel would feel bound to tell McCleskey that defendants charged with killing white victims in Georgia are 4.3 times as likely to be sentenced to death as defendants charged with killing blacks. In addition, frankness would compel the disclosure that it was more likely than not that the race of McCleskey's victim would determine whether he received the death sentence: 6 of every 11 defendants convicted of killing a white person would not have received the death penalty if their victims had been black, while, among defendants with aggravating and mitigating factors comparable to McCleskey, 20 of every 34 would not have been sentenced to die if their victims had been black. Finally, the assessment would not be complete without the information that cases involving black defendants and white victims are more likely to result in a death sentence than cases featuring any other racial combination of defendant and victim.

The story could be told in a number of ways, but McCleskey could not fail to grasp its essential narrative line: there was a significant chance that race would play a prominent role in determining if he lived or died.

(Continued from page 3)

ment statutes in 37 states following *Furman*—even though there may be some evidence of discrimination in imposition of the death penalty. Because implementation of the death penalty requires discretion, he said, "exceptionally clear proof" would be needed before assuming that the discretion has been abused.

Third, he said that accepting McCleskey's claim would open up the whole criminal justice system to challenge and might necessitate similar relief in other non-capital cases.

The four-member minority in *McCleskey* considered and rejected all of these factors. Regarding discretion in capital sentencing, Justice Brennan's dissent cited the Court's own past rulings in *Batson, Lockett,* and *Woodson* to show that "[w]hen confronted with evidence that race more likely than not plays such a role in a capital-sentencing system, it is plainly insufficient to say that the importance of discretion demands that the risk be higher before we will act—for in such a case the very end that discretion is designed to serve is being undermined." Brennan noted that the majority's fear that "recognition of McCleskey's claim would 'open the door to widespread challenges to all aspects of criminal sentencing' . . . seems to suggest a fear of too much justice. . ." The prospect that there may be more widespread abuse than McCleskey documents "may be dismaying," Justice Brennan continued, "but it does not justify complete abdication of our judicial role. The Constitution was framed fundamentally as a bulwark against governmental power, and preventing the arbitrary administration of punishment is a basic ideal of any society that purports to be governed by the rule of law."

The *Dred Scott* Parallel

There are haunting and ominous parallels between the Court's decision in *McCleskey v. Kemp* and the infamous *Dred Scott* decision 130 years ago. In yielding to pressure to preserve the institution of slavery, *Dred Scott* declared that black people were not "citizens" protected by the Constitution. "It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy of these laws," the Court said in *Dred Scott*. "The decision of that question belonged to the political or law-making power."

In *McCleskey*, the Court allows the lives of white people to be valued over the lives of black people and shows a willingness to tolerate racism in the system because of society's interest in fighting crime. "It is not the responsibility—or even the right—of this Court to determine the appropriate punishment for particular crimes," Justice Powell wrote. "It is the legislatures, the elected representatives of the people, that are 'constituted to respond to the will and consequently the moral values of the people.'"

Ways to Address the Problem

This leads me to my final point. I am disturbed that we are here discussing whether Georgia's system is racist. The evidence clearly demonstrates the racial implications of Georgia's capital sentencing practices. I would have hoped that we would have been discussing ways to address the problem and to make Georgia's criminal justice system a model for the nation.

We at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund believe that capital punishment should be abolished, but even if that is not possible there are a number of reforms that should be implemented to eliminate the obvious racial implications of the present system. One suggested by Justice Stevens in his dissent in *McCleskey* is to limit imposition of the death penalty to a narrow range of the most egregious of cases. Any evidence that factors other than guilt, heinousness, and moral culpability have influenced the decision to impose a death sentence should be disturbing to even the most ardent supporters of capital punishment.

The second thing we can do is develop uniform standards for district attorneys in deciding which cases should be pursued for capital punishment. Today, this

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August 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Republican presidential contenders are making a strong pitch for black votes in 1988, but their task is made difficult by the GOP's low credibility among blacks.**
- **For the first time since 1976, the League of Women Voters will not be the sole sponsor of the presidential debates; both parties have also made plans to stage debates in 1988.**
- **In a campaign that has to-date lacked a serious discussion of the issues, Baltimore will elect its first black mayor in history. State's Attorney Kurt Schmoke is favored to win.**
- **Will more blacks be elected to Congress in 1988? *TL* lists the best bets.**
- **Across the nation, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley tries to mend a rift with the Jewish community; black leaders in Dekalb County, Georgia, are dissatisfied with Governor Joe Harris's choice to be the first black trial judge in the county; New York's two U.S. senators are accused of not recommending blacks for federal judgeships; and blacks in Milwaukee are seeking a candidate for the mayoral race in 1988.**

The GOP and Black Voters: A New Strategy for 1988?

As reported previously in *TL*, some Democratic party strategists seem inclined toward wooing conservative whites and southerners at the expense of blacks in the belief that their party cannot win a presidential election in which more than 15 percent of its electoral support comes from blacks. If this assessment is correct, there will be a "window of opportunity" in the 1988 presidential campaign for the Republican party to convince a substantial number of black Democrats to switch parties. In speeches to the Republican party faithful, the press, and black audiences, **several of the leading GOP presidential contenders have begun to make a strong pitch for black votes. What are their chances of succeeding? Are black voters, 89 percent of whom supported the Democratic presidential nominee in 1984, likely to switch?** Let's look at some of the critical factors bearing on this question.

Why would blacks be willing to switch? **WILBUR COLOM,** a 37-year-old black lawyer who is the unopposed Republican nominee for state treasurer in Mississippi, gave two reasons to *Washington Post* columnist WILLIAM RASPBERRY: **"First, I'm concerned about . . . the trend that has blacks rapidly segregating themselves into the Democratic party—and out of power.** It's dangerous to be in the position of being able to articulate our disagreement only from the outside. **The second reason is that I honestly don't believe that conservatives are the nemesis of black people. . . . What I see now is a black leadership that cannot move us to the next step: economic parity."** These reasons have considerable merit. A JCPS/Gallup poll in 1986, for instance, found that many blacks felt the civil rights leadership was "moving too slowly." However, the GOP's task will not be easy: a *Washington Post* poll in January 1986 showed that 77 percent of blacks said the Republicans "do not care" about the problems of black people; and, in the JCPS/Gallup survey, more than 80 percent of blacks said they were likely to vote for the Democratic presidential nominee in 1988.

How credible is the GOP courtship of blacks? The GOP has several major hurdles to overcome. Among the most significant are the distaste many blacks have for the Reagan administration; the ill-fated "ballot security" program which was aimed at purging the voter rolls of blacks in the 1986 U.S. Senate and congressional elections in Louisiana; and the strong and historic association between blacks and the Democratic party. **Yet, just as blacks**

deserted the "party of Lincoln" when FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT'S economic policies attracted them (as historian NANCY WEISS has argued), they may be willing to come back home to the GOP if the right package of economic benefits is offered. One GOP candidate who has begun to frame a credible appeal is New York Congressman JACK KEMP, who told reporters in Georgia: "We are the natural home of the black voter. We can't put America back to work until we put black America back to work. The way to do that is to reach out to the black vote by being interested in those things that affect their lives—jobs, housing, education, voting rights." . . .Another reason for taking the GOP seriously is that party leaders have learned the lesson of the 1986 midterm elections in which blacks helped the Democrats recapture the U.S. Senate. As Senate Minority Leader BOB DOLE (R-Kans.) said to a convention of Georgia Republicans: "I want the Republican party to grow. **Someone asked me, 'Why did we lose four Senate seats in the South?' I'll tell you why. It'll take one minute. We didn't get any of the black vote. You have to deal with the realities in America. The reality is, if you spot someone 95 percent [i.e., the percentage of blacks voting for the Democrats] you have a tough row to hoe."** . . .Whether this is more than campaign rhetoric is the decision left for black voters. In prior elections blacks have shown they are willing to support moderate Republican candidates, including former Maryland Senator CHARLES MATHIAS, Pennsylvania Senator ARLEN SPECTER, New Jersey Governor THOMAS KEAN, Cleveland Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH, and Atlantic City Mayor JAMES USRY—to name just a few. **The ongoing problem for Republicans is that a political party cannot expect black support unless that party first offers some reason for black support. Whether the Republicans will offer a persuasive reason remains to be seen. . . .** One prominent black Republican, businessman ARTHUR FLETCHER, already knows what he wants: "My goal is to be at the very top of every presidential candidate's list for vice-president," he told Republican colleagues in a letter. As a means of reaching his goal, Fletcher is thinking of declaring himself a candidate for the presidency.

Is there a relevant historical analogy? Yes, in the election of 1912, when black voters were considered as "reflexively" Republican as many consider them to be "reflexively" Democratic today, **NAACP leaders MONROE TROTTER and W.E.B. DUBOIS called for blacks to support the candidacy of Democrat WOODROW WILSON. Though the Republicans out-polled Wilson in the black community, the Democratic nominee succeeded in obtaining a significant number of black votes—approximately 25 percent.** The NAACP monthly organ, *Crisis*, wrote, "We have helped call to power . . .a scholar and a gentleman." By 1913, however, Wilson, the scholar and gentleman, had introduced laws to segregate federal employment. By 1914, President Wilson's black supporters were thoroughly disillusioned, and the NAACP, in an open letter, broke with Wilson, signalling an end to blacks' two-party strategy.

As some analysts see it, today's GOP call for blacks to pursue a two-party strategy—in the absence of a Republican party platform that is beneficial to blacks—may be just as shortsighted as it was in the early 1900s. However, this prospect is unlikely to deter the GOP presidential candidates and their black Republican supporters from seeking to capitalize on the Democrats' apparent benign neglect of blacks. They may get some brownie points from the Reagan administration's recent appointment of three black women in the U.S. Department of Education—BONNIE GUITON, assistant secretary for Vocational Education, BERYL DORSETT, assistant secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, and LEGREE DANIELS, assistant secretary for Civil Rights—and from the appointment of Lt. General COLIN L. POWELL, one of only seven three-star black generals, as the number two honcho in the National Security Council in the aftermath of the Iran-Contra fiasco.

Presidential Debates: How Many in 1988?

How many presidential debates will there be in 1988, and who will sponsor them? **The answer at this time is eight debates in the general election (and perhaps more during the primaries), four to be sponsored by the League of Women Voters and four by the bi-partisan Commission on Presidential Debates,** which is headed by Republican National Committee Chairman FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR., and Democratic National Committee Chairman PAUL KIRK. To add to the confusion, the league has named four sites (Birmingham, Boston, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis) but not the dates, while the bi-partisan commission has announced only the dates (September 14 and 25, and October 11 and 27, 1988.) All the current presidential candidates in both parties have agreed to participate in the bi-partisan commission debates, but a spokesperson for the league said, "Ultimately, the party nominees will decide [which debates to participate in]. They tell the party chairman what to do, not the other way around." The league's position, supported by a lot of voters, is that presidential debates are too important to be left to the political parties.

Little Fanfare in Historic Mayoral Election in Baltimore

The mayoral race in Baltimore has to this date been a contest without a battle, a history-making event without fanfare, an election without issues. Though voters this year will elect the city's first black mayor there has been neither a rousing Chicago-like "Come Alive on November 5" voter registration drive nor a celebration of black empowerment. **In the first sign that there may be some life to this election, the two candidates, State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE and incumbent (appointed) Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS, agreed to a televised debate on August 28, two weeks before the September 15 Democratic primary. The debate is being sponsored by the League of Women Voters and WMAR- TV. . . .Though the debate may liven the election, the polls have all but eliminated any suspense regarding the outcome.** In an August 2 *Baltimore Sun* poll of potential Democratic voters, SCHMOKE led BURNS by 56 percent to 27 percent (with 17 percent supporting others or undecided)—a margin that has stayed unchanged since an earlier *Sun* poll in April. Schmoke prevailed over Burns among blacks (63 percent to 26 percent) and among whites (48 percent to 30 percent).

A more lively election, according to political observers, is the race for city council president which features two white and one black candidate. **The polls show that blacks are willing to vote for a white candidate (despite a campaign by the Baltimore *Afro-American* to have a unified black vote), but whites are unwilling to back a black candidate.** In the lead, according to the *Sun* poll, is MARY PAT CLARKE, a white liberal favored by 33 percent of blacks and 48 percent of whites. The black candidate, state delegate LARRY YOUNG, was the choice of 36 percent of blacks but only 5 percent of whites. The other major candidate is HARRY MCGUIRK, Governor DONALD SCHAEFFER'S choice, who was preferred by 2 percent of blacks and 20 percent of whites. . . .The three candidates for city council president will participate in a televised debate on August 30.

The Best Bets for Electing More Blacks to Congress

There is no shortage of blacks who want to run for Congress but few open seats are available. **Because challenging an incumbent is a high-risk venture, potential candidates would do well to look out for seats that become vacant due to death, retirement, or (a reflection of the times) the onset of legal problems.** *TL* offers this list of the "best bets" for black candidates seeking election to Congress. . .New Jersey: Popular incumbent Rep. PETER RODINO (D-10th district, Newark), it is rumored, has promised to retire. **If he does, a black is almost assured of winning this 54 percent black district.** Newark City Councilman RALPH GRANT has announced he is running; and City Councilman DONALD PAYNE (who lost to Rodino in 1986) and several other black candidates are also expected to run. Louisiana: There is little speculation that Rep. LINDY BOGGS (D-2d district, New Orleans) is planning to retire, but if she does, **attorney MARC MORIAL (the son of former New Orleans Mayor ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL) may be the candidate.** (The former mayor was once considered the odds-on favorite to win this seat.). . .In the 8th district (Alexandria), **FAYE WILLIAMS, who lost by fewer than 5,000 votes in 1986, plans to run again. Given the lackluster qualifications and performance of the Republican incumbent, Williams has an excellent chance of defeating him**—if her campaign is adequately financed. As several women candidates proved in 1986 [e.g., Sen. BARBARA MIKULSKI (D-Md.), Rep. CONNIE MORELLA (R-Md.)], women often win the second time around. North Carolina: According to LAVONIA ALLISON, former president of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus, **blacks are searching for a candidate in the 36 percent black 2d congressional district (Durham), where black candidates in two previous primaries were narrowly defeated in runoffs.** South Carolina: The 2d District (Columbia) might also be a good bet for a black candidate. Some observers believe Republican Rep. FLOYD SPENCE is considering retiring. **In this 32 percent black district, a strong black voter registration and turnout campaign, linked to a black candidate who could appeal to liberal and moderate white voters, might produce a winner.** Tennessee: In Memphis, **Congressman Harold Ford (D),** who has been indicted on tax and bank fraud charges involving $350,000 that was allegedly diverted to him from banks controlled by convicted financiers Jake and C. H. Butcher, **may be vulnerable because of his legal problems.** But don't count a Ford out of the Bluff City's future. Mississippi: **A seat may open up in the 4th district (Jackson) if octogenarian Senator JOHN STENNIS (D) retires and Rep. WAYNE DOWDY, who now represents the 4th district, decides to run for the Senate.** A black candidate might emerge in this 37 percent black district. New York: If Rep. ROBERT GARCIA, (D-18th district, South Bronx), retires as a result of his legal problems, **a black or Hispanic candidate is likely to emerge in this 44 percent black, 49 percent Hispanic district.**

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles Mayor TOM BRADLEY, whose relationship with the Jewish community has recently been strained, has ordered the city attorney's office to find some way of breaking black Muslim leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN'S contract to use the Los Angeles Convention Center for a speaking engagement next month. According to Bradley, “racial bigotry, racial hatred, or religious hatred of any kind are unwelcome in the city of Los Angeles.” (In a 1985 speech in Los Angeles, Farrakhan called Israel a “wicked hypocrisy.”)....Bradley, who started his political career in the 1950s with a group of liberal young Jewish activists in the California Democratic Council volunteer movement, may hope that his anti-Farrakhan stance will mend his ties to Jews. **A *Los Angeles Times* poll, however, shows that Farrakhan may not be the critical issue: Bradley is losing Jewish support because Jews no longer agree with his handling of “quality of life” concerns raised by the city's emerging slow-growth movement.**

CONNECTICUT: Though *TL* reported last month that state Sen. MARGARET E. MORTON had a good chance of becoming the first black woman elected to Congress from Connecticut, the winner in the 4th district was CHRISTINE NIEDERMEIER, a former representative in the Connecticut House. **Morton got 28 percent of the total vote; Niedermeier got 53 percent. Blacks are only 9 percent of the voting-age population in the district.** Only about one of every four registered Democrats voted....Niedermeier did well in suburban areas and did better than expected in Bridgetown, Morton's home base.

GEORGIA: Influential black leaders in Dekalb County, particularly state Sen. EUGENE WALKER (D-43d), have voiced displeasure over Governor JOE FRANK HARRIS'S appointment of black assistant district attorney LINDA WARREN HUNTER to one of two vacancies on the state court in Dekalb County. Walker and other black and white leaders had recommended Recorders Court Judge MIKE HANCOCK for the post, but Hancock was not even included among the final nominees. **Walker says the governor mishandled a fine opportunity to make meaningful the appointment of DeKalb's first black trial judge**....Hunter, a graduate of the University of Georgia Law School, had been an assistant district attorney for three years.

ILLINOIS: In East St. Louis, **incumbent Mayor Carl Officer defeated six challengers and was reelected to a third term with 60 percent of the vote,** according to early, unofficial returns. The voters also approved, by a 2-1 margin, a referendum that would cut the size of the city council over which Officer presides. The first election that will cut the city council will be held in 1989.

In other news, black leaders from 12 states met in Chicago in early July to help Illinois State Comptroller ROLAND BURRIS plan strategies to place more blacks in statewide elected or appointed office, according to a report in the *East St. Louis Monitor*. “Right now there are only five of us in the whole country,” Burris said. This was the second meeting of the group, the National Forum of State Leaders (NFSL), which was organized by the Democratic National Committee in April.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans Mayor SIDNEY BARTHELEMY was named by acclamation as president of the National Association of Regional Councils (NARC) at its annual meeting in Reno, Nevada, in May. As president, Barthelemy will serve as chief spokesman for regional issues such as economic development, job training, human resources, transit, and employment.

MASSACHUSETTS: At its annual meeting in Boston in mid-July, **the National Association of Secretaries of State called for states to eliminate barriers to voter registration by adopting the following reforms:** mail-in (postcard) registration; day-of- election registration, agency-based registration, in which public employees offer registration forms and assistance to citizens doing business in state offices, and a centralized, computerized registry of voters in each state.

NEW YORK: Republican U.S. Senator ALFONSE D'AMATO'S choice of a white Nassau County State Supreme Court justice to replace a retiring black federal court judge has drawn criticism from the **retiring judge, HENRY BRAMWELL, who accused both D'Amato and his Senate colleague, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN (D), of showing a “callous disregard” for blacks by failing to recommend them for judgeships,** according to a report in *Newsday*....By tradition, federal judgeship nominees are recommended by senators of the same party as the president. But the two New York senators have agreed to let Republican D'Amato select three candidates for every one recommended by Democrat Moynihan. **D'Amato has never recommended a black for appointment. Moynihan has recommended one, MARY JOHNSON LOWER, for the U.S. District Court in the Southern District of New York.**

VIRGINIA: Since his historic election in 1985, Lt. Gov. Doug Wilder has repeatedly been in the news for his views on some controversial issues. **“Let the chips fall where they might,” he said in a July 16 speech in Norfolk. “There are no ‘black’ public officials under criminal investigation or ‘white’ public officials under criminal investigation. A public official is a public official; a guilty criminal is a guilty criminal.** I ask you: Do the victims of crime, or those hurt by official lawlessness, suffer any less or greater due to the color of the victimizer?”....In another recent example, the first recipient of a grant from the Underdog Fund he established in 1985 is lawyer J. Jack Kennedy, a white male Democratic nominee for the Virginia House of Delegates. The *Washington Post* reported that Kennedy's opponent was “a white Republican woman [running in] . . a district that is believed to have never elected a Republican or a woman to the legislature.” **In explaining the award, Wilder said the term underdog “takes a lot of flavors. I was an underdog even though I had no opposition.”**

WISCONSIN: Black political leaders in Milwaukee have formed a committee to search for a black mayoral candidate for the February 16, 1988, primary, according to Alderman MICHAEL MCGEE (D-10th district). **Potential black candidates include County Supervisor TERRANCE PITTS, Sheriff RICHARD ARTISON, City Clerk BEN JOHNSON, and head of the Social Development Commission, DONALD SYKES. Other possible candidates are HOWARD FULLER, now the dean of general education at Milwaukee Area Technical College, and JERREL JONES, the president of Courier Communications Corporation, which owns a radio station and a newspaper**....Milwaukee is only 23 percent black, so there would be an uphill fight even if the city's blacks can unite behind one candidate....Eleven of the state's 22 black elected officials hold office in Milwaukee.

NEW LEADERS CHOSEN: A. REGINALD EAVES, commissioner, Fulton County, Georgia, was elected president of the National Association of Black County Officials (NABCO). He will take office in September at the expiration of the term of the current president, WEBSTER J. GUILLORY, the county assessor in Orange County, California. Commissioner Eaves will also assume Mr. Guillory's position on the steering committee of the National Policy Institute.

The Honorable JOYCE LONDON ALEXANDER, United States magistrate, U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, has been chosen by her colleagues to chair the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association in 1987-88. Magistrate Alexander replaces the Honorable THELMA WYATT CUMMINGS, judge, State Court of Fulton County.

The Death Penalty

(Continued from page 4)

is a haphazard practice. The district attorney testified in *McCleskey* that the standards are left basically to assistant district attorneys, which further invites arbitrary and capricious decisions. The standards should be applicable throughout the state, because the most compelling evidence of racial disparities in Georgia's cases is found in cases outside Fulton County.

Impact on System of Justice

In a recent speech at the commencement of John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York, Professor Anthony Amsterdam (of the New York University School of Law) discussed the implications of *McCleskey* for the entire criminal justice system. The challenge he put to the graduates for improving the system is well worth repeating here.

Criminal justice professionals, Professor Amsterdam said, are obliged to speak out against the Supreme Court's conception of the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system must be, first and foremost, a system of justice. There can be no justice in a system which treats black people differently than white people, or treats crimes against blacks differently than crimes against whites. . . .

Racism must be eradicated not simply in the superficial, short-lived situation where we can point to one or another specific decision-maker and show that his or her decisions were the product of conscious bigotry, but also in the far more basic, more intractable and more destructive situation where hundreds upon hundreds of different public decision-makers, acting like Georgia's prosecutors and judges and juries—without collusion and in many cases without consciousness of their own racial biases—combine to produce a pattern that bespeaks the profound prejudice of an entire population.

The agencies of criminal justice have been given drastic and unique coercive powers, including the powers of imprisonment and death. And of course, discretion in the execution of such powers is essential. It is precisely because of this that they must be accountable. They cannot be exempted from the scrutiny that courts are bound to give to documented charges of discrimination.

As Professor Amsterdam told the graduates, it is demeaning to professionals in the criminal justice system to be told by the Supreme Court that they cannot do their jobs without special dispensation from the safeguards that assure to people of every race the equal protection of the law. ■

Resolution of the Black Leadership Forum

On July 16, 1987, the Black Leadership Forum (BLF) adopted a resolution denouncing the Supreme Court's decision in the *McCleskey* case. The 19 black leaders who signed the resolution are **Dorothy Height,** President of the BLF and of the National Council of Negro Women; **Julius L. Chambers,** Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; **Councilman John Barnes,** President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; **Willie T. Barrow,** Executive Director, Operation PUSH; **Steve Davis,** Executive Director, National Newspaper Publishers Association; **Congressman Mervyn Dymally,** Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus; **Mayor Richard T. Hatcher,** Gary, Indiana; **Norman Hill,** Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; **M. Carl Holman,** President, National Urban Coalition; **Benjamin Hooks,** Executive Director, NAACP; **John Jacob,** President, National Urban League; **Ada Jackson,** President, Greek Letter Organizations; **Elton Jolly,** President and CEO, OICs of America; **Coretta Scott King,** President, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-violent Social Change; **Dr. Joseph Lowery,** President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; **William Lucy,** Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; **Rev. Leon Sullivan,** Chairman, OICs of America; and **Eddie N. Williams,** President, Joint Center for Political Studies.

The resolution states that the Black Leadership Forum:

- affirms that racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice is a violation of the basic rights of equality and humanity, and that discrimination exists whenever black people are treated differently than white people or whenever crimes against black people are treated differently than crimes against white people;
- insists that the responsibility to root out racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice is an unavoidable obligation of all public officials and of citizens of all races;
- declares that evidence of widespread racial discrimination in the administration of the death penalty cannot be ignored or trivialized;
- calls upon Congress to enact federal legislation which will be adequate to assure against racial discrimination in the administration of the death penalty;
- calls upon governors and legislators to examine whether death sentences in their states have been imposed discriminatorily, to cease executing people during this examination, and to forbid the resumption of executions until the eradication of any racial discrimination is assured; and
- calls for continuing study of the workings of the criminal justice system, so that racial discrimination in every area of its administration and not merely in death cases can be exposed and eliminated.

(For more information, call the Black Leadership Forum at (202) 628-2990.)

How Loss of Manufacturing Jobs Is Affecting Blacks

Many Displaced Workers Were Reemployed But With Less Pay

by Margaret C. Simms

The United States economy is undergoing structural changes that have major implications for black workers. During the past 10 to 15 years, employment has shifted dramatically from the goods-producing sectors (manufacturing, mining, etc.) to service-producing ones. This shift has dislocated workers as old jobs are eliminated and new jobs are created.

The current shifts are not the first signs of structural economic change in the United States; significant change also took place as we moved from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. However, while blacks were beneficiaries of the earlier change (see box on this page), they may not fare well as a result of the current changes. For instance, data on reemployment of workers during the 1982-85 recovery period indicate that blacks are overrepresented in the occupations and industries which have suffered economic decline.

Economic Change and Displacement

According to a recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS),[1] a total of 10.8 million workers lost their jobs between January 1981 and January 1986 due to plant closings, layoffs, and business failures. Just under one-half of them (5.1 million) are classified as displaced workers because they had held their jobs for at least three years. They lost their jobs not because of poor work performance but because economic change rendered the jobs obsolete. Approximately two-thirds of these displaced workers were reemployed by 1986, up from 60 percent in 1984. Just under 20 percent were still looking for work in 1986 and the remaining 15 percent were no longer in the work force.

Over a half million blacks were displaced in the early 1980s, about 11 percent of the total. This was slightly higher than their representation in the labor force (9.6 percent). Black women were nearly one-half of the black total and they were more likely to be displaced than were white or Hispanic women.

The displaced black workers had a much harder time finding new jobs than white workers. While 68 percent of whites were reemployed by January 1986, only 58 percent of black workers were. Like their white counterparts, most blacks who were not reemployed were still looking for work—they did not leave the labor force.

By Industry and Region

The reasons for the lower reemployment rates of blacks are related to the patterns of displacement and reemployment. About one-half of the workers who lost jobs were in manufacturing and two-fifths of them were in the blue collar job categories of operator, fabricator, and laborer. Workers in these occupations were also less likely to be reemployed.

While blacks were only slightly more likely than whites to be in manufacturing jobs at the beginning of the recession, they were much more likely to be in the blue collar occupations that sustained the larger layoffs and had the lower reemployment rates. In fact, over one-fourth of all black workers were in these blue collar occupational categories in 1980.

Displacement was not equally felt across the country.

Blacks Gained in Migration From Field to Factory

In the past 40 years black workers have moved into new industries and geographic locations as employment opportunities have shifted. In 1940, over three-fourths of the black population lived in the South. This population was primarily rural, and employment was predominantly in the agricultural sector. Over the next 30 years blacks moved out of the South and out of the agricultural sector into northern industrial jobs. Between 1940 and 1970 the proportion of the black work force that was employed in the agricultural sector dropped from 33 percent to 3 percent, while the proportion working in manufacturing jobs increased from 12 percent to 22 percent. The proportion of the black population that lived in the South declined from 77 percent to 53 percent. The "great migration" helped blacks increase their incomes in the last 40 years but it has left them in regions and industries that are now in decline.

Dr. Simms, an economist, is deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

[1] "The Pulse of Economic Change: Displaced Workers of 1981-85," by Francis W. Horvath, *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1987

Workers in the industrial Midwest were more likely to lose jobs and had more difficulty obtaining new jobs. About 17 percent of the black population is located in the most heavily hit states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. It is in these midwestern states, where industrial production is on the decline, that young black males were having difficulty finding good jobs even before the 1981-82 recession. As Daniel R. Fusfeld and Timothy Bates show in their book, *The Political Economy of the Ghetto*, only 41 percent of black males ages 20 to 24 in two of the hardest hit states, Ohio and Illinois, were working in 1980—as opposed to 63 percent in 1970. While over 40 percent of those who were employed had manufacturing jobs in 1970, only 31 percent did so in 1980.

The lack of good manufacturing jobs means that these young men are faced with either no jobs or service jobs that offer lower pay and less stability. Since Fusfeld and Bates found no deterioration in employment for young black men in southern states with expanding industrial employment, they attribute at least part of the growing nonparticipation of young blacks in the labor force to their location in areas of industrial decline.

Lower Wages, Less Stable Jobs?

Have displaced workers been forced to accept jobs in occupations and industries that pay lower wages and are subject to greater likelihood of part-time employment? According to the BLS study, about 2.7 million (79 percent) of the 3.4 million displaced workers who were reemployed by 1986 were working full-time. Over one-half of them had wages that were as high or higher than the wages they received in the jobs from which they had been displaced.

Since the study does not report on wage cuts by race, the impact on blacks must be inferred from their distribution among industries, which is shown in the table on this page.

As the table shows, an average of 40.4 percent of all displaced workers took pay cuts. However, in some of the industries in which blacks were overrepresented, a larger percentage did so. For instance, in the primary metals industry, where blacks were 12.2 percent of the work force, 52.5 percent of workers took pay cuts. Other data (not shown in the table) make it clear that blacks were also more likely to be among those who have taken a pay cut of more than 20 percent.

A JCPS task force on economic policy is doing further study on the displacement of minority workers; the results will be reported in *Focus* and other JCPS publications.

What Does the Future Hold?

Over the next 10 years, changes in employment patterns are expected to continue. Total employment within manufacturing will grow only slightly, and manufacturing jobs will decline modestly as a percentage of all jobs in the U.S. economy, as technological change leads to increased productivity for the individual worker.

Displaced Workers Who Took Wage Cuts Upon Reemployment

Industry	*Percent of Workers Who Took Wage Cuts*	*Total No. of Blacks Employed (1980)*	*Blacks as a % of Industry*
Transport, Communications, & Public Utilities	44.2	827,283	8.9
Manufacturing	43.8	2,163,603	9.9
Durable	43.2	1,181,601	8.9
Nonelec. Machinery	47.0	158,353	5.7
Elec. Machinery	52.1	178,424	8.1
Primary Metals	52.5	158,944	12.2
Motor Vehicles	12.6	163,616	11.7
Nondurable	45.0	940,224	11.1
Construction	38.9	403,992	7.0
Finance & Service	32.4	3,737,949	11.0
Wholesale & Retail	30.8	1,295,626	6.5
Public Administration	28.6	702,501	13.8
Average for All Industries	**40.4**	**9,334,048**	**9.6**

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1987 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Detailed Characteristics of the Population*, 1980.

The most rapid expansion of employment will continue to be in services and related industries. This does not mean that all the jobs created will be low-wage jobs. The fastest growth rates are projected to be in the relatively high-paying professional and business services subsectors. They are expected to account for over 70 percent of the growth in service jobs over the coming decade.

The growth in high-wage service jobs does not mean that black workers will necessarily improve their position in the economy. Blacks are currently overrepresented in the professional services sector, but one-half of them are in nursing care, child care, and hospital work, and another quarter of them are in elementary and secondary education. With the exception of teachers, the wages in these sectors are below those in manufacturing and are below the weekly wages for the service-producing sector as a whole.

Even though minority workers will be 40 percent of all the new entrants into the work force by the year 2000, educational and job specific skills will be necessary to move into the jobs that will be opening up. Most of the high-wage blue collar jobs that blacks were able to obtain in the post-World War II period did not require more than a tenth grade education. That will not be the case for the "good" jobs of the 1990s. Therefore, the position of blacks will suffer if education and training programs are not made available and utilized by blacks who are entering or reentering the work force. ■

Two New Books From JCPS

Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility

Introduction by John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton, 1987

The second in a series of essays by a group of prominent scholars, called the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, seeking a new direction in the discussion of issues facing black Americans. Approaches the problems and circumstances confronting blacks in the context of black values, the black community, and the role of government.

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David S. Broder, Syndicated Columnist

Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters: Four Case Studies

Edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1987

Documents four remarkably successful black voter mobilization efforts (two large northern cities, Chicago and Philadelphia; one black-majority southern city, Birmingham; and one small city/rural congressional district, the North Carolina 2nd). Analyzes these successes to illustrate effective strategies and techniques that might be used elsewhere.

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Welfare Reform Bill Calls For New Direction

Moynihan's Proposal Targets Absent Parents, Increases State Control of Program Design

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PERSPECTIVE

MetLife Executive Proposes Corporate Support of Minority Firms

In last month's Perspective column, "Educational Reform and the Corporate Sector," I argued that unless corporations took the lead in ensuring that the work force was productive, "businesses cannot be productive, competitive, and profitable."

This month, I take up the same theme as it relates to corporate support for the small but growing minority business community. My basic argument is still the same: our nation needs the full contribution of a strong minority business sector if we are to rise above the challenges we now face from our overseas competitors.

I am pleased to report that this view is shared by top corporate leaders such as Philip Briggs, vice-chairman of the Metropolitan Life Company. In a recent speech, Mr. Briggs said, "Black business needs more broadening, strengthening, and a good deal of support."

It is clear from several recent studies that there are considerable resources within the black community that corporations may find to be useful. For instance, the most recent census data (covering 1977 to 1982) show a significant increase in the number of black-owned firms in the *business services* sector, which includes advertising, credit reporting and collection, mailing, reproduction, and stenography. Also, studies by the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) have documented the emergence of a new generation of black entrepreneurs "with managerial, technical, and professional experience in a desegregated workplace." (See "Black Businesses in Transition," *Focus*, June-July, 1986.)

These are indeed positive trends that the corporate sector should be willing to nurture and support. As Briggs said, "A critical mass is forming, and it will increase in weight and influence. But meanwhile, we all can, and should, do much more to speed up the process."

What can be done to speed up the process? Let me again quote Briggs, the veteran businessman:

> For example, large- and medium-size companies can seek out minority-owned businesses as regular suppliers of goods and services. Some companies, mine included, already have such a company-wide policy.
>
> We in the business community can provide other kinds of help as well. We can offer technical and managerial services—expertise most start-up businesses cannot offer but sorely need.
>
> We can help them find sources of capital. This is often cited as *the* most critical need of minority business, and the most difficult to meet without outside help.
>
> We can help set up incubators—facilities that support fledgling companies with low rent and a shared network of support services, such as secretarial help and data processing equipment.
>
> We can help black businesses explore the possibilities for tapping international markets for imports and exports.

By recommending concrete steps corporations can take to enhance the capacity of minority businesses and to expand the opportunities available to them, Briggs underscored the need for strong, viable minority businesses. If his recommendations are widely adopted, both minority businesses and the nation stand to benefit. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Welfare Reform Bill Calls For New Direction

Moynihan's Proposal Targets Absent Parents, Increases State Control of Program Design

by Katherine McFate

On July 21, 1987, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) introduced his long-awaited bill to reform public assistance for poor children. Moynihan and other advocates of reform argue that Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) needs a new direction, that the government needs to establish a new social contract with AFDC recipients based on two principles: (a) parents who can provide support for their children are obligated to do so; and (b) rather than encouraging long-term dependence on government assistance, welfare programs should be designed to help the poor become economically self-sufficient. To achieve this end, Moynihan's bill (S.1511) proposes (a) establishing a more efficient system of collecting support from absent parents who fail to provide support for their children; and (b) making education, employment, and training programs (currently administered under the Work Incentive [WIN] program) a more central part of the AFDC income maintenance system.

Mandatory Wage Withholding

The Child Support Supplement (CSS) program, which would replace AFDC in the proposed legislation, stresses the need for improving the legal mechanism for collecting child support. If passed, states would be allowed to automatically withhold support payments from the wages of an absent parent who had fallen behind in paying child support.

Mandatory wage withholding is an important step in assuring that absent parents are held responsible for supporting their children. In 1985, there were 8.8 million families with children headed by single mothers. Only half of these female-headed families had legal support orders, and less than one quarter were receiving the full amount of court ordered support due to them. Over 1.2 million families with court orders received no support from the absent parent. Another 1.1 million received partial support payments. The Moynihan bill would make it much easier for the children in these families to receive the private support to which they are entitled.

However, enforcement of support orders will only partially solve the problem. In 1985, two out of every five single-parent families with children had no court orders for support. Obtaining a support order is directly related to marital status. For example, divorced parents are four times more likely than never married parents to have support orders. Only about 10 percent (168,000) of the unwed mothers who were raising children in 1980 had court orders for the father to pay child support. Less than two-thirds of these families received any child support from the father and the amount received averaged less than $20 per week. Largely due to high rates of teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births in minority communities, only a third of black families and 40 percent of Hispanic families have support orders compared to 70 percent of whites.[1]

Recognizing the problem unwed mothers face in obtaining support orders, the Moynihan bill emphasizes the need to establish legal paternity. (A father cannot legally be required to support his child until his name is put on the child's birth certificate.) Paternity was established for less than one in four out-of-wedlock births between 1980 and 1984. If a mother applies for or is receiving AFDC, she is supposed to cooperate with state agencies in establishing paternity as a condition for staying on welfare. The Moynihan bill would penalize states that do not increase their rate of paternity establishment to the level of the national average by cutting the federal matching grant for CSS benefits (currently AFDC) by 1 to 5 percent. By insisting that states work toward establishing paternity in all births, the government sets the stage for possibly collecting support from these fathers at some later point in their work life. The goal here is to send a message to fathers— particularly young fathers—that they have a responsibility to their children that the government will enforce whenever possible. This is a message we can all applaud.

However, while mandatory withholding of child support from pay checks will certainly improve the economic situation of many of the mothers and children who have working ex-spouses and fathers, it is largely irrelevant to the current population of long-term welfare recipients. Divorced mothers with working ex-spouses do not generally remain on welfare for long periods of time. Long-term welfare recipients are likely to be women who had children as teenagers, have never married, have less than a high school education and have limited work experience. The partners of these women are generally men with the same characteristics—limited education and sporadic work histories. Thus, even when paternity can be established, mandatory withholding of very limited, often sporadic, earnings will not reduce the need for some kind of public assistance for children in these families. These parents need to improve their marketable skills if they are ever going to earn enough to lift their families out of poverty. Moynihan's understand-

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The author is a research associate at the Joint Center.

(Continued on page 4)

Welfare Reform

(Continued from page 3)

ing of this fact leads him to suggest employment and training programs targeted precisely at these individuals.

Increasing Independence

The Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program included in the Moynihan bill (which would replace WIN) both expands the population eligible for employment and training programs and targets funds at specific groups within this population. The bill requires women with children over three years old to participate in education, training or work programs; under WIN, women with children under six years old do not have to participate.

The bill also makes two-parent families with an unemployed head eligible for public assistance. This is an important improvement over current law and extends benefits to families with an unemployed parent in the 24 states that currently do not allow such families to receive government assistance; it also makes unemployed male household heads eligible to participate in JOBS programs.

While expanding the scope of coverage, the bill targets JOBS program funds toward individuals that are or are likely to become welfare recipients for long periods of time. States are required to spend at least 60 percent of all JOBS monies on (a) single parents who have received public assistance for at least 30 months; (b) young mothers who are high school dropouts; and (c) unemployed adults in two-parent families. States are allowed maximum flexibilty in determining the obligations to be imposed on long-term welfare recipients or adults in two-parent families, and are required to offer educational services only to those in the second category—mothers under 22 years of age. Yet, it is clear that without education and training programs a large proportion of the first group—single mothers who are long-term dependents—will have a difficult time entering the labor market.

Long-term welfare recipients often lack basic reading and math skills. A recent assessment of WIN mandatory clients in Philadelphia showed that although most reported that they had completed the tenth grade, the average competency level in reading was fifth or sixth grade and 20 percent had reading levels below fourth grade. Administrators in California discovered that half of all AFDC recipients in that state were in need of basic remedial education when the state instituted a plan that required individual assessments of clients' skills. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the Moynihan bill that would compel states to provide a full range of educational and training activities to individuals eligible for the JOBS program.

However, states can choose to institute mandatory workfare with no educational or training components under the Moynihan bill's JOBS program. Research by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation has shown that compulsory work programs that are not coupled with education and training do not decrease welfare dependency. In fact, requiring undereducated, unskilled welfare recipients to perform menial labor for a certain amount of time each week may even lengthen the amount of time a family remains dependent on public assistance by reducing the parent's ability to obtain the education and/or skills that could lead to full-time employment at more than a minimum wage.

Basic skills programs required to improve the employability of long-term welfare clients are expensive. Moynihan's bill does provide federal funds (at a 60 percent match) for education and training to states that are willing to invest their own resources in such programs. A few states have invested significant amounts of state funds in employment and training through the WIN Demonstrations projects. Employment and Training Choices (ET) in Massachusetts and Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) in California offer a full range of education, training and work activities. The Moynihan bill would allow these programs to continue to operate.

However, most states offer very little in the way of education and training under the WIN program. The majority provide only low-cost job search counselling that will not help under-educated, unskilled welfare recipients enter the labor market. The Moynihan bill will not change this situation.

Removal of Federal Standards in Ten States

The "waiver" clause included in the Moynihan bill would probably increase the existing disparities in the services provided by states. Up to 10 states could petition the Secretary of Health and Human Services for "waiver authority." This authority would allow the states to receive a block grant that combines the federal funds received for AFDC, Child Support Enforcement, Welfare Services, Foster Care, and other programs to support poor children. The state would then use this block grant to administer a set of programs of their own design. Although basic protections of benefit levels are included in the bill, guidelines and eligibility requirements established by the federal government for each of these individual programs would be waived for a five year period. Each state could establish its own eligibility standards and obligation requirements for participants. This is a step back from the national entitlement system that was first established in the New Deal.

Already there are enormous inequities in the amounts and kinds of public assistance that states provide to poor families. In Alaska, for example, in 1984 a mother with two children received $569 per month in AFDC and Medicaid support, while in Mississippi a family of the same size received only $117. In 1984, almost 80 percent of Vermont's eligible women and children were served by the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) Supplemental Food Program; in Hawaii, only 16 percent of the WIC eligible population was served. A

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September 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Blacks in the baby-boom generation show signs they may be willing to switch parties, but they are not likely to be responsive to attacks on civil rights leaders and to conservative social policies.**
- **The latest census data show a narrowing of the gap between black and white voter registration and turnout; yet, black political participation, especially in the South, is not yet "respectable," according to the Southern Regional Council's research director.**
- **As Jesse Jackson stands poised to toss his hat into the presidential ring, he appears to be in a better position than in 1984 to stay in the race all the way to the Democratic convention—and probably, to win more delegates.**
- **Across the nation, Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington and Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt will both seek third terms; in the District of Columbia, a *Washington Post* poll shows that a majority of residents believe that "corruption is a big problem" in the administration of Mayor Marion Barry; and former Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., announced his intention to enter the race for county commissioner in Wayne County (Detroit).**

Black Baby-boomers: What Impact on Presidential Politics?

Social commentators have been fascinated of late by the prospect that the baby-boom generation (variously defined as those born between 1945 and 1964 or those born after 1940) may decide the presidential election of 1988. The *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and *Newsweek*, to name just a few publications, have carried long articles on the subject. **But throughout most of this commentary, there has been little or no focus on blacks in the baby-boom generation. Not making blacks a part of the baby-boomers equation is a striking omission.** After all, blacks compose a larger proportion of baby-boomers than they do of any other generation: 13 percent of *all* potential voters under 30 years old are black, compared to 11 percent of voters between the ages of 30 and 49 and only 9 percent of voters 50 years and older.

What, then, is the potential impact of the black baby-boomers on the election of 1988? Are the young black boomers (the "me generation") different from older blacks? Do the baby-boomers, more so than their elders, believe blacks have made more progress? Are they as likely as their elders to favor a strong role for government in social welfare and civil rights policies? Do different issues concern the baby-boomers? If so, do these issues propel them in a new (more conservative) direction? Can the black boomers, like their white counterparts, be characterized as being fiscally conservative but socially liberal? And, in general, are they more likely than their elders to support the Republican nominee for president in 1988?

The 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey, one of the few surveys large enough to do subgroup analyses, **found that black baby-boomers were slightly less likely than older blacks to say they preferred the Democrats in last fall's congressional elections**—although the vast majority of blacks of all age groups overwhelmingly supported the Democrats. **Similarly, black baby-boomers were slightly more likely to say they would vote for the Republican nominee in 1988**—13 percent of black boomers, compared to 5 percent of older blacks. **Partisan identification showed a similar pattern: a vast majority of all blacks identified themselves as Democrats, but baby-boomers were far less likely to say they were strong Democrats and twice as likely to say they were Republicans.** And the boomers did seem to be demonstrating embryonic signs of switching their party labels. Asked if, in the last five years, they had thought of themselves as belonging to something other than their present party, boomers were three times more likely than their elders to say they had; more than a third said they had once thought of themselves as Democrats. Younger blacks were also more likely to say that they felt "better off" as a result of Reagan's economic policies—27 percent of those under 30, 19 percent of those from 30-49, and 20 percent of those over 50.

There were differences on the issues as well. **For example, younger blacks were less likely than older blacks to support strong enforcement of affirmative action;** in the JCPS/Gallup poll, 48 percent of those under 30, 53 percent of those aged 30-49, and 56 percent of those 50 and over supported affirmative action. Similarly, on the question of responsibility for helping the poor, **only 18 percent of the black baby-boomers thought government had the main responsibility,** compared to 27 percent of those 30-49 and 40 percent of those over 50. Finally, like their white counterparts, young blacks were substantially more likely to identify themselves as liberal on social issues. Fifty-two percent of blacks under 30 and 44 percent of blacks 30-49 reported that they held liberal views about "sex, morality, family life, and religion," but only 23 percent of blacks over 50 did so.

Thus, if there is a potential Republican constituency among blacks, it is probably young baby-boomers. EDGAR THORNTON, a black staffer at the Republican National Committee, seems to think this is the case. According to Thornton, **"the pro-business attitudes of younger blacks and the pro-business initiatives of the Republican party" will attract increased support nationwide from younger blacks.** Much, he believes, depends on who eventually wins the party's nomination. Some of those running have good records on "social programs and civil rights," according to Thornton.

Nevertheless, there are only slight differences between young blacks and their elders on many other issues, such as social spending to aid the poor and the effectiveness of civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. **Indeed, on civil rights issues, black baby-boomers rated civil rights groups as being "very effective" or "somewhat effective" and believed that civil rights leadership was proceeding at the right speed.**

As far as the implications of the survey go, then: Older blacks are likely to stay put with the Democrats, and no change in the voting patterns of younger blacks should be expected in 1988. Moreover, parties or candidates will not be able to win the votes of black baby-boomers with conservative social issue stances, attacks on civil rights leadership, drastic cuts in social spending to aid the poor, or a host of other issues long important to black America. The route that is most likely to be effective in gaining the support of young blacks is to convince them that the creation of employment, business, and educational opportunities is at the core of a candidate's campaign.

Voter Participation Gains Mask the Huge Job Still Ahead

When SONIA JARVIS, the newly appointed executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, began work shortly after Labor Day, she may have read two documents on black voter participation that are not easy to reconcile. If the gains outlined in the first document lulled her into complacency (unlikely as that is), the second may have felt like a splash of cold water. **In the first document, the Census Bureau reports that between 1982 and 1986 blacks showed significant gains in voter registration and turnout, closing the registration gap with whites to one percentage point (64 percent for blacks, 65 percent for whites) and the turnout gap to four percentage points (43 percent for blacks, 47 percent for whites).** These are the smallest gaps between blacks and whites ever reported in the census surveys; and, in the 1986 midterm elections, the black turnout was reportedly higher than the white turnout in Alabama and California and less than four percentage points lower than the white turnout in Georgia and Louisiana. **In the second document, an article in *Southern Changes* (June-July 1987), ALEX WILLINGHAM, research director of the Southern Regional Council, writes that "under-registration and low voter turnout continue to handicap the black population in the South. This is the uncomfortable fact behind claims of an influential black vote made after the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign in the 1984 presidential primaries and after the 1986 elections. . . . [T]he reality is that blacks in the South, even in some key jurisdictions, are neither registering nor voting in respectable numbers."**

Willingham's analysis stems from his view that barriers to voting have "diminished" throughout the South without a corresponding increase in the number of blacks elected to office. In Mississippi, for instance, he notes that "despite [the adoption of] single-member districts, blacks account for only 38 of the state's 410 [county supervisor] positions although blacks are a substantially larger percentage of the state's population." (The data are for 1985.) Though he points to the importance of the 1990 reapportionment and of the need to build cross-racial voter coalitions, **his main concern is to increase black registration and turnout. What can be done? His answer, "Nothing easily."** He notes that registration efforts by the political parties "tend to be episodic and personality-driven . . . [and are] of limited impact in low-profile elections even when the issues being decided are vitally important to minorities." On the other hand, he notes that the litiga-

is time to relitigate issues that have been resolved to the satisfaction of most southerners, black and white. When the Senate confirmation hearings begin on September 15, many black voters will be noting how the senators they helped to elect will vote. Support for Bork's confirmation will undoubtedly cost them black political support in the future.

In a related item, readers of the September 7 issue of the *New Republic* must have been surprised to discover that Judge CORNELIA KENNEDY was listed as black. Well, folks, you were right the first time. Judge Kennedy is not black. She is a very conservative white Catholic who, ironically, was opposed by blacks when she was considered for appointment to the Supreme Court at the time of Justice SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR'S appointment.

Some observers believe the *New Republic's* mistake was the product of a White House claim to have considered black and women candidates for the current vacancy on the Court. **However, inside sources confirm that the Justice Department never considered a black or a woman to fill this seat.** Why? Perhaps a clue lies in the statement of one of President Reagan's closest allies on the Judiciary Committee, Senator STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.), who noted, with some displeasure, that there are no southerners on the Court (after the retirement of Justice Powell, a Virginian). **Senator Thurmond's statement should be read to mean, of course, "no *white* southerner"—since Justice THURGOOD MARSHALL was born in Maryland. Could it be that Senator Thurmond assumes that blacks are not "real" southerners?**

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In Birmingham, Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, declaring that "no one has done it better," launched his campaign for a third term. **Arrington, who was elected as the city's first black mayor in 1979 and elected again in 1983, asserts that during his administration the city has seen its greatest period of economic transition and growth in the last four decades.** The mayor's record has been under attack, however, by Tax Busters, a grass-roots group headed by BOB MCKEE, an attorney and Arrington's only opponent so far. . . . City Councilman BILL MYERS, a white former Birmingham police chief, has expressed interest in the city's top job but has not declared his candidacy. . . . Arrington has stated that only a major black candidate, such as WILLIAM BELL, president of the city council, could stand in the way of his reelection. Councilman Bell has not indicated whether he will run for mayor this year. . . . RICHARD FINLEY, a black Republican, may run against the winner of the Democratic primary.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: According to a *Washington Post* poll in late August, **67 percent of D.C. residents believe that "corruption is a big problem in the District" and 54 percent believe that the U.S. attorney's investigation of Mayor MARION BARRY is "justified."** Barry's overall approval rating dropped from 50 percent in July 1986 to 44 percent in August 1987. . . . When asked to select from a list of reasons why Barry was being investigated, 32 percent of all respondents (37 percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites) said "because he is black"; and 61 percent of all respondents (54 percent of blacks and 86 percent of whites) said "because he may have committed a crime." (Six percent said "because he is a Democrat" and 1 percent chose "other.") . . . Though news reports alleged that high-ranking Democratic party officials were looking for a replacement if Barry decides to leave office for any reason, **the mayor defiantly responded that, "The only way I would get out of this office is to be carried out of here."** Barry has three years left in his third term of office. . . . Barry, who has not been indicted, or convicted, or even publicly accused of any wrong-doing, blasted the investigation as "Mickey Mouse" and says he has broken no laws. "What you have," Barry told the *New York Times*, "is a dozen people in a whole government who have taken advantage of the system. It's overblown. We don't have system-wide corruption."

ILLINOIS: Radio commentator and civil rights leader LU PALMER announced that the organization he heads, **the Black Independent Political Organization, will endorse a black candidate in September to oppose incumbent RICHARD DALEY II for the Democratic nomination for state's attorney in 1988.** Two potential candidates are state appellate court Justice R. EUGENE PINCHAM and former Operation PUSH executive director and attorney THOMAS TODD. . . . According to Palmer, Daley's prosecution of former Alderman WALLACE DAVIS, who is black, amounted to "a political conspiracy. . . . [Daley] persecuted him."

MICHIGAN: In Flint, **incumbent Mayor JAMES A. SHARP, Jr., and newcomer MATT COLLIER, a former congressional aide, will square off in a November runoff election for the city's top job.** Though voters set a record for registration and turnout, none of the contestants received a majority of votes: Sharp received 37 percent, Collier secured the runner-up spot with 31 percent, and former Mayor JAMES W. RUTHERFORD, once regarded as the front-runner in the race, finished third with 29 percent. Sharp surged ahead when votes from predominantly black areas were counted.

In Detroit, CHARLES DIGGS, Jr., once considered one of the most powerful and influential congressional leaders, is returning to the political arena—but at the county level. The 64-year-old politician and mortician was the first to file his candidacy for the 2nd District Wayne County commissioner's seat vacated by FREDDIE BURTON, who was appointed to Probate Court. Diggs said he has been "overwhelmingly nominated" and elected 30 straight times, beginning with his election as a Michigan state senator in 1951 (a position once held by his father, Charles Diggs, Sr.). . . Besides Diggs, 10 other Democrats are running for the 2nd District seat. . . . The only Republican in the race is MARJORIE B. ROGERS, who is black.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte Mayor HARVEY GANTT, unopposed in the September 15 primary, is a strong favorite to be reelected to a third term in the November general election. Gantt is considered to be one of the new breed of black mayors—i.e., pragmatic, experienced, and independent. Some observers say he has not pleased the black community as much as they expected when he was elected, but he has pleased enough of the downtown business community to get their financial largess for his campaigns. **It is very difficult to run against Gantt, according to a political analyst quoted in the *Winston Salem Journal*, who said, "He can turn out an enormous black vote, but in Charlotte, if you use race as an issue you get branded as a racist very quickly, and it's hard to find any other issues on which to face him. Harvey just hasn't done anything bad."** . . . Gantt's opponent in the general election will probably be SUE MYRICK, a former Charlotte City Council member, who is attacking Gantt on a bond issue he favors, for his policies on roads and taxes, and for "government waste." Most observers believe, however, that only a colossal mistake on Gantt's part could give the election to Myrick.

tion strategies favored by philanthropic groups have not resulted in increased registration or voting. **As he says, "Proponents of voter registration should avoid putting so many eggs in the litigation basket and return to providing support for organizational community-based work designed to register and vote the population."**

If the two reports are read together, the message is clear: much has been gained, but the job of advancing black political empowerment still remains unfinished. Jarvis, a Yale Law School graduate and former associate counsel at the Center for National Policy Review, begins her new job with much to accomplish; *TL* sends our best wishes.

Jackson Slips in Polls But Enters Presidential Race to Stay

Labor Day was not a day of rest for JESSE JACKSON. In the morning, he appeared on national television to announce his intention to seek the Democratic party nomination for president of the United States (though he will not officially enter the race until October 10) and then he embarked on a three-state campaign swing that took him to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and New York. **Though polls show that Jackson's support is still in the teens (and may be falling), he appears even likelier now than he was at this time in 1984 to stay in the race all the way to the Democratic convention next July—and, probably, to win more delegates. . . .** In the all-important area of campaign funding, for instance, Jackson met his goal of raising $1 million by the time of his Labor Day announcement—thanks in part to late August fund-raisers in Chicago and New York, the latter featuring entertainers BILL COSBY and ROBERTA FLACK and hosted by businessman PERCY SUTTON. In contrast, "We were basically broke the day we announced in 1983," said Jackson's press secretary, FRANK WATKINS. . . . **Jackson has also come a long way in developing a constituency ("the damned, dispirited, disrespected, and despised") that is not entirely black.** As political analyst WILLIAM SCHNEIDER wrote in the *National Journal,* "For three years, Jackson has been going around the country collecting discontent. When a farm is foreclosed in Iowa, Jackson is there. When a factory closes in the Rustbelt, Jackson is there. He has been prominently associated with striking communications workers, unemployed oil-field workers, and laid-off TWA flight attendants." While 90 percent of Jackson's 1984 campaigning was in the black community, he now has spent "maybe 40 percent [of his time] in the white community," according to Watkins. In particular, Jackson has focused on Iowa, the leadoff state in the delegate selection process, where blacks are only 1 percent of the population. Is his message getting through? Listen to JAY HOWE, co-chairman of the Adair County Democratic Party, who told *New York* magazine: **"I don't know what it is but you put that man out there in the small towns and they just go wild over him. . . . I think the most important thing is his message—they relate to his anger. They loved it when he opened the office here and said, 'It is safer and more profitable in this country to sell Mercedes-Benz sedans than John Deere tractors.' He's making them see that they're in the same boat now as the unemployed inner-city worker."** Howe was so impressed that he agreed to become co-chairman of Jackson's Iowa campaign. Other party activists in the state, however, seem not to think so highly of Jackson. In an August 1987 poll of those who participated in the 1984 Iowa Democratic Party Caucus, only 5 percent listed Jackson as their "first choice" for the Democratic party nominee. . . . What about Jackson's base among blacks? At this writing, none of the declared Democratic or Republican candidates seem likely to get anywhere near the black support that WALTER MONDALE got in 1984; that, plus the growing expectations of a black "show of force" on Super-Tuesday, are the clearest signs that blacks are solidly in Jackson's corner—at least for now.

All this is not to say that Jackson can win, but that it is almost certain he will gain enough support to stay in the race to the end, i.e., the Democratic nominating convention in Atlanta. In 1984, Jackson entered the convention with 465½ delegates. This time, analysts say, he would have greater delegate strength, perhaps even a quarter of the 4162 delegates at stake.

Opposing Judge Bork's Nomination to the Supreme Court

Black voters, particularly from the states that helped elect a Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate in 1986, could be the key to the eventual rejection of Judge ROBERT BORK'S nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. **If Bork were confirmed, the Reagan administration would be encouraged to renew its attack on affirmative action and also to challenge school desegregation and "one man-one vote." A tilt of the Supreme Court to the far Right could signal the forces of reaction and retrenchment that it**

The New Black Middle Class (Part I)

Since Emerging in the 1960s, How Far Up the Class Ladder Have They Risen?

by Bart Landry

In a country where progress is measured by movement up the class ladder—the fabled pursuit of the American Dream—there has been surprisingly little analysis of upward mobility among blacks. To fill this gap, I embarked on a study about the black middle class and collected survey data from 21 metropolitan areas across the country.[1] My objectives were twofold: first, to find out how many blacks had made it into the middle class, and second, to compare their position within the middle class to that of whites.

By focusing on the growth of the middle class, I believe we gain a more accurate portrait of black progress than if we look only at measures of relative poverty or income. Those two measures are undoubtedly important but they do not fully reveal the degree to which blacks have been brought into—or excluded from—the American economic mainstream. (See box below for a discussion of how to measure the middle class.)

The Middle Class During Segregation

The twentieth century began with the vast majority of black workers in the ranks of the rural proletariat of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, or in the urban unskilled working class. In 1910, for instance, only 3 percent of black workers held middle-class jobs. By comparison, the number for whites was 25 percent, and nearly half of them worked as clerical and sales personnel—occupations from which blacks were excluded.

Middle-class blacks, in the years during segregation, were primarily professionals serving the black community, such as ministers, teachers, and a handful of doctors, dentists, and lawyers. Because this group, unlike the middle class which emerged in the 1960s, was economically dependent on the black community and because they were subjected to the subordination faced by all blacks under (*de facto* or *de jure*) segregation, I refer to them as the "old" black middle class.

Fifty years later (in 1960), on the eve of the Civil Rights Movement, only 13 percent of blacks had reached the middle class, compared to more than 40 percent of whites. (See bar graph on page 6.) The relatively small increase in the percentage of middle-class blacks reflects the undeniable truth that the first half of the twentieth century brought only meager progress to blacks. The major change consisted of a shift out of farming jobs and into the unskilled working class where black men found themselves confined to

(Continued on page 6)

Is Class Defined by Income or Occupation?

Following a long tradition which began with sociologist Max Weber, I define middle class in terms of an individual's occupation. Specifically, I include only those who have white-collar occupations: professionals, managers and administrators, and sales and clerical workers.

In *Ebony's* August 1987 issue on "The New Black Middle Class," sociologist Robert Hill and economist Andrew Brimmer take a different approach: they define the middle class by income. Hill includes *individuals* with incomes of $20,000-$50,000; Brimmer includes *families* with incomes of $25,000-$50,000. There are many problems with their approach. For example, Hill and Brimmer set the same upper income limit ($50,000) for both individuals and families. How can that be? Another problem is that knowing an individual's income tells us little about future earning potential, job security, or occupational mobility. It does not tell us whether the income is the reward for 15 years as a garbage collector, 10-15 years in a factory, 4 years as a computer programmer, or 2 years as an engineer. Income, in short, tells us little about the true economic position of an individual.

By contrast, an individual's occupation tells us more, such as whether it is a job with a future or a dead-end job; a secure job or one plagued by frequent layoffs and a high unemployment rate; and whether it is a job with transferable skills that make occupational mobility possible. For example, blue-collar workers may earn more than some sales and clerical workers but may also face frequent layoffs, higher unemployment rates, and low mobility; accordingly, sales and clerical workers are included in the middle class but blue-collar workers are not. In short, the occupations with the most desirable mix of economic returns are included in the middle class; they are commonly known as white-collar occupations.

The author, an associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, is a JCPS visiting scholar for 1987.

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[1] The findings of this study were published in my book, *The New Black Middle Class* (University of California Press, 1987.)

(Continued from page 5)

the most menial, dangerous, and dirty work of an industrial economy, and where black women became the domestic workers of the rapidly expanding white middle class.

The "Miracle" of the 1960s

What has happened in the years since 1960? The biggest surprise for me in my research was the discovery that the black middle class doubled in size from 13 percent in 1960 to 27 percent in 1970—a greater increase in size in 10 years than had occurred in the previous 50 years.

In explaining the "miracle" of the sixties, two events which occurred simultaneously, by chance, are most responsible: the Civil Rights Movement *and* a booming economy. The former led to passage of the civil rights laws of 1964, particularly Title VII, which mandated an end to discrimination in hiring and promotions. The latter—a high rate of economic growth, especially in the second half of the decade—created so many new white-collar jobs that the anti-discrimination law could be enforced without whites having to pay a price for affirmative action. Of the 13 million new jobs added to the labor force during the sixties, 74 percent were white-collar jobs. Because of Title VII, blacks captured a fair share of these jobs, especially between 1964 and 1969, when the black middle class grew between 8 percent and 12 percent annually.

Black middle-class growth in the sixties was unique not only for its high rate of increase, but also for the diversity of occupations that blacks entered—accounting, engineering, science, architecture, and sales and clerical work in white establishments. In short, blacks were entering white-collar occupations in all areas of the economy.

The new racial norms created by the civil rights laws also ensured blacks the right to purchase any goods and services they could afford. For these two reasons—greater occupational diversity and a new normative climate—I call the black middle class that emerged in the 1960s a *new* black middle class.

To underscore the necessity of *both* Title VII and a vigorous economy for black middle-class progress, let's compare the growth rates in the sixties with the growth rates of the 1950s and the 1970s. During the fifties, when the economy performed almost as well as in the sixties but before Title VII was passed, blacks realized rising incomes (the median income went up 40 percent) but little upward occupational mobility. The ranks of the black middle class grew by only 3 percent. In the 1970s, with Title VII in place but with the economy sputtering, the black middle class grew 7 to 10 percent annually—down from a rate of 8 to 12 percent annually in the late 1960s.

The growth rate in the 1980s is very similar to the rate of the 1970s. The black middle class continues to grow but at a slower pace than in the 1960s. Had the black middle class continued to grow in the 1970s and 1980s at the same pace as it had in the 1960s, its numbers would have risen by one million more—to 4.5 million instead of the 3.5 million it reached in 1980; and by 1984, 43 percent, rather than 39 percent, of all blacks would have entered the middle class.

Projections to the Year 2000

What can we expect in the future? Assuming that the present growth rates continue, I project that 49 percent of all black workers will be in the middle class by 1990 (compared to 60 percent of whites); and by the year 2000, 56 percent of all black workers and 63 percent of all white workers will be in the middle class.

I believe the first reaction of many will be disbelief. Half of all blacks in the middle class by the year 2000? How can that be? The answer is that some progress up the ladder has been made. However, the gains should not be overstated. As shown in the following section,

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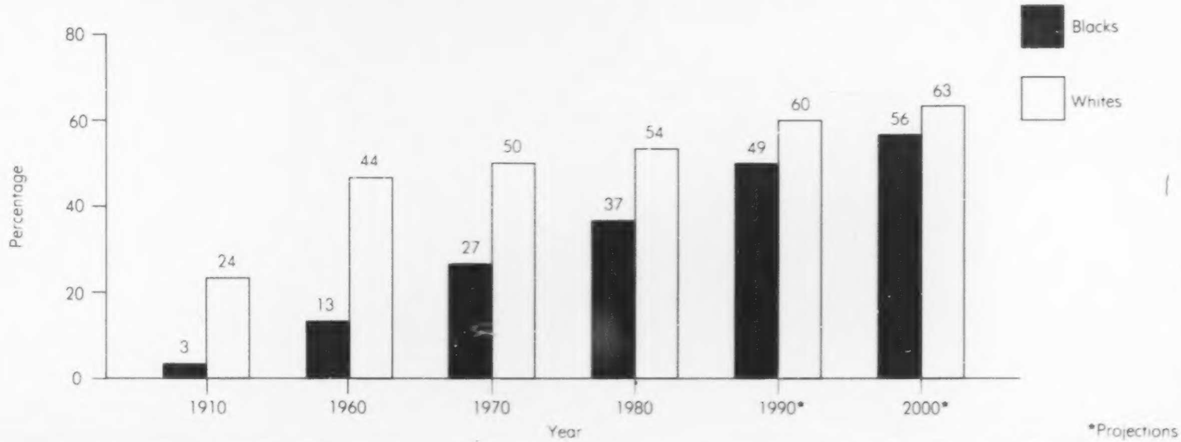
Black and White Middle-Class Growth, 1910-2000



Black Middle Class

(Continued from page 6)

blacks are still disproportionately represented in the lower rungs of the middle class. Moreover, it will be well into the twenty-first century before the proportion of blacks in the middle class equals the proportion of whites in the middle class.

How Far Up Have They Risen?

Though the black middle class is growing, its members occupy a very different economic position than members of the white middle class. In the balance of this article, I will briefly discuss some of the key differences. (In Part II, which will appear in the October issue of *Focus*, I will explore in greater detail the relative differences in income, occupation, and standard of living.)

One key measure of progress is whether blacks occupy jobs in the upper middle class (professional, managerial, and administrative) or the lower middle class (sales and clerical). In 1973, 58 percent of middle-class blacks were in lower middle-class jobs and 42 percent were in upper middle-class jobs, compared to 49 percent and 51 percent, respectively, for whites. The ensuing decade brought little change. By 1982, the proportion of blacks in the upper middle class had risen to 44 percent, while the proportion of upper middle-class whites increased to 54 percent. If present trends continue, by the year 2000 less than half of all middle-class blacks (48 percent), compared to 58 percent of whites, will be in the upper middle class.

To gain some insight into the significance of this difference, consider the relative incomes associated with each of these two strata. In 1984, the average income of black males in the upper middle class was $27,500; but it was only $20,000 in the lower middle class. For white males, the average upper middle-class income was $36,000; the average lower middle-class income was $26,000. Similar gaps are found among women.

An additional difference between blacks and whites is that black middle-class growth in the 1970s and 1980s has been disproportionately led by women. This has meant a weaker economic position for the black middle class, because black women are more likely than black men to get lower middle-class jobs and to earn less.

In conclusion, there is no denying that the growth of the black middle class since the 1960s represents a watershed in the black experience in America. For the first time in the history of this country, blacks gained access to the middle class in significant numbers and were given a chance to begin enjoying the good life of the American Dream. However, the black middle class still lags far behind the white middle class in proportionate size and in access to the most desirable jobs within the middle class. The pace of upward mobility for blacks has also slowed since the gains of the 1960s. If currents trends continue, the black middle class will not gain parity with whites until well into the next century. ■

Welfare Reform

(Continued from page 4)

1987 report by the Urban Institute indicates that only 10 states have been able to maintain stable work-welfare programs under WIN during the past five years. Only six states replaced all federal funding lost during this period with state funds. The report showed that the states that can afford to provide a comprehensive range of employment and training services for the poor are precisely those states in which a strong economy already creates greater employment opportunities for the poor than in other areas of the country.

The thrust of the S.1511 is to encourage states to work more actively to reduce their welfare loads. The language in the bill suggests that states should do this in two ways: first, by aggressively pursuing absent parents who fail to contribute to the support of their offspring and second, by setting up education, employment and training programs that will help adult welfare recipients become self-sufficient. These are laudable goals. Unfortunately, the bill does not contain language to ensure that education and training programs will be available to the individuals targeted by the JOBS program. Six years of WIN Demo projects and almost 20 years of WIN programs have taught us that many states, particularly those in the South, will do little to help poor families without federal direction. S.1511 does not provide the federal leadership in this area for which many of us had hoped. ■

Only about 10 percent (168,000) of the unwed mothers who were raising children in 1980 had court orders for the father to pay child support.

The proposed legislation does not require states to provide education and training programs.

Kick Off the Presidential Election Year at the Fifth National Policy Institute

> "The timing of the Fifth National Policy Institute—before the nominating caucuses and primaries—affords black public officials an invaluable opportunity to build effective networks and coalitions; to share information on pertinent public policy issues; and to hear from experts on ways to address the future direction of national policy affecting black Americans."

Eddie N. Williams
President of the Joint Center
for Political Studies.

Sponsors of the Fifth National Policy Institute

- **The Congressional Black Caucus**
- **The Joint Center for Political Studies**
- **The Judicial Council of the National Bar Association**
- **The National Association of Black County Officials**
- **The National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials**
- **The National Black Caucus of State Legislators**
- **The National Caucus of Black School Board Members**
- **The National Conference of Black Mayors**

The kickoff for the 1988 presidential election year will coincide with an historic meeting of over 1,000 black elected officials at this year's **Fifth National Policy Institute ("NPI V")** conference. The Institute's sponsors—the seven national organizations of black elected officials (see list above) and the Joint Center for Political Studies—expect to develop strategies to influence the policy positions of the Democratic and Republican presidential hopefuls.

"The next presidential election will have such a monumental impact on black America, history will either pay homage to or decry our collective efforts as black elected officials to affect the outcome of the race," said **Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus,** "The Fifth National Policy Institute will begin writing this chapter in our history."

The issues to be discussed in the public policy forums include:

- *The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America*
- *Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization*
- *The Changing Nature of the Black Family*
- *Job Creation: Which Strategies Work in the Black Community*
- *Addressing the Needs of the Black Rural Community*
- *Increasing Opportunities for Minority Businesses*
- *Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues*
- *The Underclass: Reality or Myth?*
- *The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials*

All events will be held at the Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel, 1000 H Street N.W., Washington D.C., January 20-23, 1987.

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